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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND OTHER STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN

THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

OF

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

1772—1785.

EDITED BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 14th to 16th January 1781.

Fort William, the 14th January 1781.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., absent on Command at Fort St. George.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 9th instant.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute :—

GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—While this Government is charged with such extensive concerns, and hath to contend with difficulties equal perhaps to those in which even the Supreme Administration of the British Empire is at this period involved, it may at least claim as a right, what under any other system of Government, that hath ever yet existed, would be imposed on it as an indispensable obligation,—to employ and exercise the powers which are inherent in its constitution, and which are immediately necessary to the support and eventually to the existence of those essential interests which it holds in charge. On this principle I claim the right of nominating the Agent of my own choice to the Residency of Benares. It is a representative station, and cannot without a contradiction be the charge of a man not preferably chosen to it, by the members of the actual Government, and holding it by an authority independent of theirs. Speaking for myself alone, it may be sufficient to affirm that Mr. Francis Fowke is not my Agent; that I can not give him any confidence; that while he continues at Benares he stands as a screen between the Raja and this Government, instead of an instrument of control, and that the Raja himself and every Chief in Hindoostan with whom we are in connection, will regard it as the pledge and foundation of his independence.

To Mr. Fowke himself I have no personal objection. I approve his conduct and esteem his character, and I believe that I might depend upon his exact and literal obedience and fidelity in the execution of the functions annexed to it. My objection I have stated above, and it is insuperable.

The person whom I have chosen to succeed him I consider as standing in the same degree of confidence and estimation with Mr. Wheler as with myself. I adopted him (if I may so express myself, from his family) and patronage, and assigned him an office of the highest trust near my own person, with Mr. Wheler's approbation, and from a foresight of the event which has since made us co-partners of this Government, and which suggested to me the propriety of employing such agents as would be agreeable to him while they possessed the other requisites for my own confidence.

I therefore think him on every consideration the fittest to fill the office in question.

I therefore move that Mr. Francis Fowke be immediately removed from the Residency of Benares, and that Mr. William Markham may be appointed to it in his stead.

While I thus acquit myself of what I conceive to be a public duty, it is my desire at the same time to indemnify Mr. Fowke from the consequences personally attending it towards him.

I therefore move that he be at the same time invested with the appointment of Agent for the provision of all boats to be employed for the military services of this establishment, with an allowance of a commission of fifteen per cent. upon all his disbursements in this office; that the executive

charge thereof take place from the period of the expiration of Colonel Morgan's present contract; and that until that time and for three months following it, he be allowed to draw his present allowance of 1,000 rupees per month.

I propose this method in preference to a contract, because I am convinced from experience that the service will be better performed by this alteration, although it is liable to one material objection in its natural influence on his expenses. This is a defect which can only be corrected by the probity of the person who is entrusted with so important a charge, and I am willing to have it understood, as a proof of the confidence which I repose in Mr. Fowke, that I have proposed his appointment in opposition to a general principle to a trust so constituted.

I move also that Mr. John Benn be appointed Assistant to the Resident at Benares.

Mr. Wheler delivers in the following minute :—

I accede to the propriety of the Governor-General's arguments, and think them particularly applicable to the present state of this Government. I am also highly flattered by the choice the Governor-General has made of a gentleman to fill this important station who was formerly under my patronage, and who is still in my confidence. But, as Mr. Fowke has not yet signified his willingness to accept of the compensation proposed to him in exchange for his present appointment, I must decline giving my assent to his immediate removal.

The Governor-General's motion being agreed to, resolved that Mr. William Markham be accordingly appointed Resident at Benares, and Mr. John Benn his Assistant.

Resolved that Mr. Francis Fowke be invested with the appointment of Agent for the provision of all boats to be employed for the military services of this establishment, with an allowance of a commission of 15 per cent upon all his disbursements in this office, the executive charge of which is to take place from the period of the expiration of Colonel Morgan's present contract, and that, for that time and for three months following it, he be permitted to draw his present allowance of 1,000 rupees per month.

Fort William, the 16th January 1781.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT :

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ., *The Commander-in-Chief assisting.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., absent on Command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 14th instant.

Agreed that the following letter be written to the Resident at Benares :—

SIR,—Having lately resolved on a mode of supply to the detachment of troops commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Camac, which makes a remittance to him from Benares of such monthly kists of tribute as you may receive from the Raja unnecessary, we revoke the orders which were sent to the Resident for this purpose on the 19th ultimo, and direct that the kists of tribute be again regularly transmitted to the Presidency as usual by bills of exchange.

Being desirous of knowing what duties are collected upon goods or money passing through the Zemindary of Raja Cheit Sing, we direct that you transmit to us, a particular account thereof, as soon as you are able.

We are, &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 16th January 1781.

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Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 23rd February to 27th April 1781.

Fort William, the 23rd February 1781.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent, on command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 19th instant.

Enclosed in the letter from Fort St. George.

Extract of a letter from LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *dated Camp near Wandewash, the 25th January 1781.*

I had the pleasure of addressing you the 21st to inform you of our success in having taken the Fort of Carangoly. I marched from thence the 23rd in the morning. Although we did not come above nine miles owing to the badness of the road, we were not encamped till after dark. On this march considerable bodies of horse appeared to the right and left of our line of march. They threw, now and then, a few rockets, but did us no mischief. The advanced guard fired two or three shot at a body of them, whereby a commander of the enemies' horse by name Alli Verdi Beg was mortally wounded, the shot entered at the loin and came out at the belly. He lived 24 hours. I marched again yesterday morning, and have the satisfaction to inform you, that I reached Dandowart in the afternoon, which, I was rejoiced, in finding still in our possession, and that the enemy had raised the siege on the 22nd instant—a circumstance which I think deserving of remark, as on the same day of January, 21 years ago, I raised the siege of this place by a battle with the French. In the course of yesterday's march, parties of horse appeared, now and then, on the right of our line, and attempted to molest us with rockets, but they were soon dispersed by a few shot by which, we have reason to believe, some of them suffered. We have sustained no loss since we left Carangoly.

A true copy,
H. CRAIG,
Deputy Secretary.

To the Hon'ble the President and Gentlemen of the Select Committee at Fort St. George.

GENTLEMEN,—In my letter of the 19th, whereof I now enclose a duplicate, I informed you of my intention of marching this morning to Carangoly and of the probability there was of taking possession of that place without much difficulty. I was led into this idea by the repeated information, which had been brought me, that it was in a manner evacuated, there only being left in it a Killadar and about 20 men. Upon the strength of this information and in full confidence that I had nothing else to do but to shew troops before it, and that it would fall, I accordingly ordered a detachment under command of Captain Davis to march at 12 o'clock last night. It consisted of about 1,000 sepoys and 4 guns with a howitz commanded by Captain Tumer; to the utter honor of the officers and men composing this detachment, the Fort of Carangoly

was taken, and in manner which rebounds much to the credit of their bravery. After congratulating you on this fortunate event, I must indulge myself with reciting to you the particulars as well, because I know it will prove acceptable to you to read, as that it is a justice I owe, on every account, to the officers and men of the detachment whose gallant conduct is highly deserving a place upon record. The detachment arrived at the Banier Gate of the Pettah this morning at ½ past 5 o'clock, when they were challenged by two centries who discharged their pieces and retired. In two or three minutes the gate was forced, and our troops immediately proceeded to the gates of the fort with a twelve pounder dragged by lascars before them. Captain Davis sent two or three of the village people to the crest of the glacis with an offer of Cowl to the garrison if they surrender. In the mean time he was advancing towards the gate-way, when the twelve pounder had got as far as the outer vanier, the whole garrison appeared drawn up on the ramparts and traversers of the gates. They then began to fire, and the gun was with much difficulty run against the gate which, on the second shot, gave way so much as to admit the men one by one, a second gate which had been lately hung, was in about a quarter of an hour opened. A third gate also now presented itself, when the gun was brought up to, with much labor on removing the first gate out of its way at the first discharge; this also was burst open, when the troops entered and took possession, whilst the *bulk* of the besieged made their escape by ladders on the opposite side. During the whole of this transaction the detachment were exposed to a constant fire of musketry from the ramparts and upper work of the fort.

The garrison, as we learn from the prisoners that have been taken, consisted of 700 men instead of the small number which was reported to me to be in it. Had I conceived the numbers to be anything near what they proved, I would not have exposed the troops to so much danger, but contented myself with reducing it in a more regular manner. As it has happened, the blow has been an important one, because it has secured us a quantity of paddy for the subsistence of the army, and nothing damps the joy I now feel, upon the occasion, but the loss we have sustained, which is three European artillery killed, and eight sepoys; Captain Morehouse wounded by a musket ball through the left arm; Lieutenant Anderson through the ham and Ensign Macalister and Lieutenant Fireworker Oliver slightly wounded by musket balls, but, thank God, none of them dangerously. Of non-commissioned officers, there are, wounded, one sepoy serjeant, one artillery sergeant, one corporal, one gunner and five privates, four of whom the doctor thinks must die; of the sepoy corps, wounded, one subadar, five jemadars, two havildars, two drummers, and 38 sepoys and ten lascars belonging to the gun.

This is a heavy loss when compared to that of the enemy which we do not find amount to more than 20 killed and wounded. Hyder's Killadur is a prisoner and mortally wounded. Besides the paddy in the garrison which is estimated to be 7,030 cailans, a large quantity may be collected from the villages round the fort, and to facilitate which business I have given the charge of the country to the father of the Aumil of Chingleput who is, by my directions, to collect as much grain as possible, and to keep it in the fort for the use of the army. Of this I have written His Highness the Nabob, who I have no doubt will, for the present, confirm my nomination. At all events, whilst any operations are yet in their infancy, a change must not be thought of; this is a point in which, if you find any alterations are intended, I must beg your interference, that the Nabob may not subject himself to a disappointment by any person he may propose being refused the charge. I enclose you copy of the orders I have this day issued on the occasion of our success, and hope you will deem the officers and men also deserving of some public testimony of your approbation. It is incredible the improvements and repairs made on the fort. The works which have been rebuilt are not only well executed, but disposed of with as much skill as if superintended by a regular bred European, although there was not one in the fort. It is now from being a ruin become a place of greater strength than when I took it last war, and is from being situated in the heart of a fertile country of that importance which deserves our future care and attention. I would have transmitted you more speedy intelligence of our success

which happened at 7 this morning, but that I have been very busy and was desirous at the same time to send you the fullest information.

I have the honor, &c.,

CAMP CARANGOLY,
The 21st January 1781.

EYRE COOTE.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 27th April 1781.

Friday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent, on command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 18th instant.

Read the following letter from LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE:—

SIR EYRE COOTE, 1ST MARCH.

GENTLEMEN,—I have been honoured with the receipt of your letters of the 18th December, 22nd and 25th ultimo, with their duplicates.

I entertain a proper sense of the endeavours you exerted to send me volunteer sepoys by sea, and I can only regret the ill-success that attended them. Had they prevailed, and two thousand men by that means been added to my force, I am persuaded I should have been able to have transmitted to you accounts still more favorable than those which shall form a part of the sequel of this address. It affords me pleasure to receive your repeated assurances of support in money for the expenses of this army, as upon its safety and maintainance employed as it now is in contending with the most powerful and formidable enemy amongst the native powers of Hindostan, I am satisfied the very existence of the British interests in this Eastern World depend.

The sum of current Rupees 4,23,672-10-3, which you advise me has been sent me by the *Portland* in gold specie of the Pagoda standard, I have the pleasure to acquaint you of my being informed from Madras, is safely arrived and landed; I have in consequence written thither to have the gold again assayed at the mint there, and that should it upon test in any respect differ from the assay report sent me, have requested a comparative view be immediately transmitted to your Board for your information. I have all the desire, you could possibly wish, for observing economy in the military disbursements, to which I am influenced by two very powerful motives—the one that the Hon'ble Company may not be subjected to unnecessary expenses, and the other the knowledge I had of the exhausted state of your finances previous to my departure from Bengal. To these I may add another motive, which is, the chance it will afford me of keeping longer together an army upon which so much hinges. The rate of payment which you have recommended for the Bengal troops shall, if practicable, be adopted; at present I understand that it is open to some objections which, when regularly reported to me, I shall communicate to you at large.

I shall take advantage of the authority given me of passing drafts upon your Government for what money I may be able to obtain at the Presidency of Fort St. George, or any other place for military purposes; but I think it necessary to inform you, lest by looking upon such a channel of acquiring resources as certain, you should suspend your present mode of sending supplies, that when I left Fort St. George, money for bills on Bengal was not to be had; on the contrary individuals were desirous of procuring money for bills. This I think you may venture to receive as a definitive proof of the improbability of my being able to command resources by that mode. The argument you hold out

of the inducement that ought to arise from the great security to their property in Bengal, is anticipated by the Government of Madras taking up money upon bond.

I am sorry to observe by your instructions to Colonel Pearse that you should have thought proper to direct that the accounts of his detachment should be kept separate from those of all other corps belonging to the Bengal establishment, as I apprehend it must also have given rise to the creation of staff appointments, which, from their being fixed, must be the cause of keeping alive, in as far as their respective allowances may extend, that evil which you seem, by your expressions to me, so anxious to provide against *unnecessary expense.* Not having been furnished with any regular return of the detachment under Colonel Pearse, which I had on every account a right to expect, I cannot immediately point out the staff offices which will become superfluous on his joining my army. I shall, however, as soon as I have it in my power, make you acquainted with them, that you may not for want of that necessary information, burthen our employers with additional expenses, and which, from the present situation of their funds, they are so little able to support.

The eighth paragraph of your instructions to Colonel Pearse is in substance no less extraordinary than the orders it conveys, are unprecedented. I believe it is the first instance of the kind that can be found in any well regulated Government that an inferior officer expressly sent to act in conjunction with an army on field service of which his Commander-in-Chief is the immediate superior, should have vested in him an exclusive or *permanent* authority in whatever shape independent of, or without, his express approbation previously obtained. I must in justice to my own characters as a soldier, and in support of that right inseparable from the station I fill, declare such a proceeding as being highly injurious to both, and I humbly conceive assuming a privilege to yourselves in military detail which you cannot, on any good grounds, be vindicated in exerting.

It was not my intention, gentlemen, but for the direct indignity offered to my authority by the nature of the instructions given to Colonel Pearse to have entered upon a discussion of this kind at such a conjunction as the present, sensible it could be in no respect useful towards remedying those calamities which impend the English interests in every quarter of the country. However, as the subject has been thus unavoidably brought upon the carpet, I should be unworthy of the trust reposed in me by my appointment both as Member of the Supreme Council and as Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India, did I not also take notice of some other matters nearly concerning my authority which have of late passed under your cognizance, but whereof no intimation has reached me except through indirect channels or through the medium of a public newspaper.

1st.—I have been informed by the Select Committee of Madras, Fort St. George, that a gentleman by name Mr. Dighton had arrived with credentials from your Board and from the Governor-General to the Nabob Walawjah for negotiating a treaty with the Dutch at Colombo or Ceylon. And whereof the object appears to have been the acquisition of a military force, which, as Commander-in-Chief, I certainly ought to have been consulted on, or at least had the compliment paid me, of a communication distinct from the summary one which has reached in common with, and through the means of the Madras Government. But however necessary or proper this was, I have been excluded from a knowledge of every essential part of the business either as to its origin or the grounds and principles upon which it had been resolved to prosecute it. This gentleman is so gross and unmerited a neglect and when contrasted with the conduct of your government towards Brigadier-General Goddard (whose pretensions to a superior confidence cannot be brought in comparison); when it was resolved to make peace with the Mahrattas, and I may add on every occasion, that I cannot help experiencing as an indignity to both my person and station, and I must gratify the impulse of my feelings by adding, that it is an ill-return to those personal fatigues and anxieties which I now undergo in the cause of the Hon'ble East India Company and the nation, and which I had every reason, from the solemn assurances pledged to me by each member of Government, to hope,

would as far as rested with them, rather been lessened than increased. I will only add in justice to myself on this subject, as far as the particulars have come to my knowledge, that I disapprove of the negotiation proposed with the Dutch as both impolitic and unconstitutional.

2nd.—I have also been informed from Madras that 'Mr. Auriol, the Secretary to your Council, has been entrusted with powers to the Portuguese at Goa having also for their object the acquisition of a military force. Of this I can safely aver I have no public intimation of any kind, though it was equally necessary to have been made known to me as the preceding.

3rd and last.—The newspapers are replete with promotions and new arrangements in the military on the Bengal establishment of which I am, by appointment, the immediate Commander-in-Chief. I need not define how far my powers rendered a reference for my approbation, if not, my express sanction, necessary to such innovations; nevertheless, they have been framed, approved, and executed without being thus qualified, are now in force without the least public report having been made me of them. I protest against the whole as irregular, unmilitary, and burthening the Hon'ble Company with an enormous additional expense, which I am clearly satisfied there was no necessity for incurring, and much less at a time when the Company's funds can so ill-afford it.

There is yet one more circumstance which appears to have attended these late military innovations and which of all others is the most immediately deserving of public notice. By the list of promotions, as inserted in the newspapers, many of the officers who accompanied me from Bengal on the present service have not only been passed over in the common rotation of promotions, but have all, excepting one, been excluded in the distribution of commands to which their seniority gave them an undoubted right. I shall not, after what I have already said, of the indignities offered in other respects to my authority, enlarge upon the addition furnished by the above instance, although it is of all the most pointed against myself, and an injury of that complexion to the officers who suffer by it, for which no excuse can be alleged, unless it may be said that, by being in a most dangerous and difficult war, the chance of returning to enjoy their right is against them. In short, gentlemen, I see so little credit to be derived from acting in my capacity of Commander-in-Chief in India, whilst its powers and privileges are liable to be wantonly arrogated by others, that I declare nothing but my attachment for the welfare of my nation, and the very critical situation of the English interests in India would delay me a moment in exonerating myself from a charge so irksome and unthankful. Nor will I deny myself the satisfaction of committing, in this place to record, that I ascribe the whole of these late encroachments upon the rights of my station to the Governor-General, as he now unites in his own person the whole powers of Government, and who, in his public character, I had a right to have expected far different treatment from.

I have received letters from Brigadier-General Goddard informing me of the important fortress of Bassien having surrendered to our arms on the 11th December, on which event permit me to congratulate to you. General Goddard informs me in letters, dated the 18th and 28th December, that after the reduction of Arnoll, a small fort situated upon an island in the entrance of the creek which forms the Island of Bassien, he would proceed with all the force he could collect to prosecute hostilities against the Mahrattas with all possible vigor, as being agreeable to the plan formed with the Government of Bombay for the operation of the campaign, and the only means by which a peace almost upon any terms could be effected, and measures adopted either in concert with, or exclusive of, the Poona Government to distress the possessions of Hyder Ali. What are the grounds upon which this resolution has been taken and its necessity evinced, it is impossible I should know without having seen their proceedings. Of this, however, I am certain, that if to enable us to direct our whole force against Hyder Ali it was necessary to make peace with the Mahrattas even upon their own terms, it would have been acceding to what I am fully convinced ought not to be put in competition with the risk which is now run by prosecuting the war; and would in the present situation of our affairs which is truly a desperate one, been a much better policy and in the end have termi-

nated more to the advantage of the Company and the nation than that which has been adopted, and which nothing but a succession of the most fortuitous circumstances can possibly bring to a happy conclusion. Our deliberation on the subject of peace with the Mahrattas gave a latitude for a cessation of hostilities; but I do not find that any endeavours have been exerted to that end, which certainly, circumstanced as we are, was an object at least to have been pursued if we had failed in the attainment of it.

I have frequently declared it to you, gentlemen, as my firm opinion that we are altogether unequal to the difficult and dangerous contention in which we are now engaged with all the powers of any consideration in India, and I must once more call upon you, in duty to your employers and to your country, to apply the least dangerous and least expensive means whereof a change may be speedily brought about in a system of policy so ruinous in itself, and so destructive to their interest. Our enemies have it in their power to protract the war to a length of time which we ought not to dare to look forward to, deficient as we must confess ourselves in those essential funds necessary to prosecute it. This is not a time to sacrifice the substance in pursuit of the shadow; the affairs of the mother country in general are in too distracted a state, and those of our employers in particular in too much want of support, not to feel in the severest manner the already disappointment in their expected resources from this country, and which I can foresee they must sooner or later experience a total deprivation of, unless we alter our present plans, or are aided by such fortunate accidents as are beyond the reach of human discernment to foretell.

I shall now fulfill the promise given in the second paragraph of this letter, by giving you a summary account of the operations of my campaign.

By my letter of the 16th January you are informed of my having come to the resolution of marching, which I did on the 17th. Reached Chingliput the 19th which I visited and the same day crossed the Palar, where I halted the following day in order to refresh the draft and carriage cattle from the insufficiency of which our marches were rendered tedious, and so much harassed both the cavalry and infantry employed in the rear guard, that they also stood equally in need of a resting day. In the course of this march considerable bodies of the enemys' cavalry appeared on the right of our line and attempted now and then to annoy us with rockets, but did us no material injury, on the contrary were themselves sufferers; what losses we sustained were owing totally to either the want or insufficiency of carriage.

On the 20th I drew from Chingliput the two days' rice I had thrown in there by detachment from the Mount. At twelve o'clock that night I ordered a respectable detachment of sepoys with four guns and a howitz to march on before and to take possession of Caringuley, where I had been informed there was a very weak garrison and a considerable quantity of grain which was certainly, in our situation, a very great object. The detachment arrived at Caringuley about break of day and carried the fort in a manner little known, and which did the highest honor to the bravery of both the officers and men who were employed on that service. I will not encroach upon your time by a tedious recital of the particulars, as I hope the Select Committee at Fort St. George has already complied with my request of furnishing you with them, but content myself with simply acquainting you that they made their entrance into it good, by applying a twelve pounder to three separate gates and thereby bursting them open; this they did under a very heavy fire of musketry from the works of the fort and constant throwing of bricks and stones. The number of the garrison instead of being two or three hundred, as I had been informed, were upwards of seven hundred, and the quantity of grain (paddy) found by no means equal to what had been represented; it, however, was enough to prove a seasonable supply. Our loss when the nature and danger of the action comes to be considered was not very considerable; however, had I been better informed of the strength of the garrison I do not believe I should have risked so much—but now that it is over I am not sorry it happened as it did, because of the favorable effect it must have produced both in the minds of our enemies and the inhabitants of the country.

In order to repair the gateways and to make the necessary arrangement of the garrison I left behind, I remained at Caringuley until the 23rd, when I

again marched and arrived at Vandewash on the 24th in the afternoon, and had the satisfaction to find that the enemy had raised the siege two days before; very large bodies of the enemy's horse appeared to both the right and left of our line, and occasionally threw rockets but did us no material injury; their principal business was burning the villages and the grain the whole way we moved along.

I remained at Vandewash until the 28th, and having supplied myself with four days' rice I again marched taking the road to Vermacoil, the siege of which the enemy, on hearing of my approach, had also raised. When I proceeded about three miles, I received letters from the Select Committee informing me of a French fleet having appeared, and being then off Madras, consisting of seven ships of the line and three frigates. As I had every reason to apprehend they must have brought troops, and that they would land them and, united with the forces of Hyder, have laid siege to Madras, the security of which being the grand national object, I resolved to move towards its protection. I arrived at Caringuley in my return the 29th, where having received further advices from the Presidency that by every information that could be obtained the French fleet had no land forces on board, I resolved to take post at Caringuley and there wait further intelligence of both the Fleet and Hyder. Having been confirmed both by accounts from Madras and Vermacoil that the French fleet had moved to Pondicherry and there anchored, and by hircarrahs that Hyder had not left Arcot, nor had any intentions of leaving it, I resolved at all risks to move to Pondicherry. I accordingly marched a second time from Caringuley on the 2nd February and arrived the 3rd at night at Vermacoil after two very fatiguing marches; I marched again on the 4th at noon, halted that night about six miles to the southward of Vermacoil; marched again on the 5th in the morning and arrived that day at noon on the Red Hills, where I encamped at an old encampment called Verembick possessing at the same time the village of Villenore, whereby I kept open the road to the southward. To this time I had been able to obtain no certain information whether there was any considerable force in Pondicherry, I resolved to send a party to endeavour to bring me intelligence. I accordingly sent a detachment from the cavalry that afternoon which returned at night and brought me accounts that they had met with no opposition, nor did there appear to be any force in the town; this was confirmed to me by two French gentlemen, who came out along with the party and who acquainted me that the person who has kept possession of Pondicherry in the name of Hyder Ali had left it the day before my arrival. I took this opportunity of enquiring whether the fleet had any land forces on board, when I was told to the best of their knowledge they had not, but that there was a thousand or twelve hundred marines. At this time there being a very large body of the enemy both cavalry and infantry encamped a few miles in my rear with which a junction from the ships could easily have been effected, knowing the support and spirit as well as the real strength which the landing of those marines, if but for two or three days, would give to the enemy, and being further acquainted that by the assistance of Masoola boats the fleet drew considerable supplies of provisions from the shore and were taking in water, I resolved to destroy them, as I saw thereby not only a certainty of distressing the French fleet but by the obstacle it would prove to the landing of any troops, provided the better for our own security. Accordingly the following day, being the 6th I sent in a considerable detachment under the command of the field officer of the day, who was Lieutenant-Colonel Owen, not only to destroy the boats but to render unserviceable all the artillery and other military stores he could find which could be in any shape useful either to the French or Hyder, likewise if possible procure and send me out some rice of which I had only enough for one day remaining in camp. The boats which on this occasion were burnt and destroyed were in number thirty-three, what remained being three or four were on board; the ships' guns spiked and rendered unserviceable twenty-six, all 24 and 18-pounders, five of which were mounted on good carriages which were burnt; these transactions fully employed the detachment until the 7th of the morning. To my great mortification not a grain of rice or any other article of provision for the army could be procured. In the hope that by my personal presence something effectual might be done towards obtaining supplies, I set out for Pondichery, the 7th, about 8 A.M., on horse-back, and I had but just

entered the bound hedge when I received a note express from camp informing me that Hyder with his whole army was in sight; instantly upon the receipt of this intelligence I sent orders to the detachment in Pondicherry to join the army main body with all expedition and returned myself to camp. Upon reconnoitering the enemy, I perceived that it was as represented (although by the best intelligence I had been able to obtatn I had every reason to believe that Hyder with the main body of his army were still at Arcot), and observing that he was moving in great force to the southward with an intention no doubt of attacking Cuddalore, I immediately struck my encampment and took my route thither in order to cover it, and in the hope to obtain a supply of rice. As it would require a considerable time before the line could be put in motion I detached a battalion of sepoys with some field pieces, and a small body of cavalry to secure the passage across the Ariancopang River; by the time that the rear guard of the army had passed that river it was night, and the enemy had got so much up with us as to bring four field pieces to play upon the right of our line of march from them, they kept up a very heavy cannonade. Fortunately, however, by favor of the night their shot was so ill-directed that the greatest part either fell short or went over; some few, however, took effect, by which were killed one lieutenant of cavalry, two European matrosses and three natives and two horses; wounded ten natives and one horse; missing Europeans are—one sergeant, one bombardier; natives—one naig and one drummer, one beastie, 16 privates, two horses, making in all killed, wounded and missing 27, and 4 horses. As their cannon injured us so little and as my object was to reach Cuddalore before them, I did not allow it much to impede my march and what few shot we fired, by the accounts of deserters, killed and wounded many more than we lost, which, considering that they cannonaded us about three hours, were very few indeed. The quantity of ammunition which they expended that night must have been very considerable; they threw rockets at every part of the line until we entered the bound hedge of this place. By means of the badness of the roads and the difficulty on that account of bringing up the baggage, the rear guard of the army did not come to their ground until 10 o'lock A.M. of the 8th. I arrived myself with the advanced guard about 7 in the morning. The first object of my enquiry on my arrival was for rice and paddy for the subsistence of the army of which I was mortified to find from Mr. Daniel, the Company's Acting Chief of the place, that he had not in store above three days' expense, of which there was only rice enough for one day's subsistence for the fighting men of the army. The alarming prospect, which this presented me with, produced feelings which are much easier to be imagined than described. I saw in the fall of this handful of men the destruction of the English interest in India. The enemy had pursued their march to the southward of this place, had completely occupied and strengthened all the roads leading to both the westward and southward and thereby not only cut off all my hopes of supplies from the Tanjore country, which, and a junction with some of the southern troops, were two of the motives that induced me to march south of Caringuley, but allowing that I could have got together rice enough to have made a movement which I found impossible rendered an attempt to march by that route very hazardous. The French fleet at Pondicherry totally destroyed my first plan of employ; the *Indiamen* as store-ship for the use of the army; no supplies therefore could come to me from the northward; and those from the southward besides being prevented from the season, and the fear of the French fleet, were cut off by armed vessels belonging to Hyder at Porto Novo, and his army which was all around, totally destroyed every chance of drawing any supplies from the country.

What to determine in a situation, so critical, so difficult, and in its consequences, so important, I confess was a question which I dreaded the decision of. However, having refreshed the troops with the little I had to give them, and in order to recover them from the fatigues of the late march, having allowed them to rest on the 9th, and hearing that the enemy had taken up ther encampment at no great distance, and in a situation where I might act against them to advantage, I resolved to offer them battle; and accordingly leaving behind me in the fort and under the walls of Cuddalore all the camp equipage and followers of the army, I marched on the 10th into the plain where I found the enemy seemingly prepared to receive me, but by the time I had formed the

line of battle and made the necessary arrangements for action, the enemy changed their position and moved to the southward in which they were favored by a river which lay betwixt the two armies, and which as it could not be approached with convenience, and having no provision in store to enable me to take any advantage of any favorable consequences which might have ensued from a pursuit, I had nothing left for it but to continue on the ground I had taken up, and to leave the option to the enemy of attacking me. On the 11th, in hope of drawing them to an action, I crossed the river that lay betwixt the two armies, with the greatest part of our cavalry, two battalion of seapoys with their guns, and attacked the rear of one of the wings of their encampment which consisted chiefly of horse; they stood a few minutes' cannonade and then retired in confusion, and thus frustrated my desire. I remained in order of battle until the 12th in the morning, when, finding that the enemy were not disposed to engage me, and that they had rather retired than approached and occupied strong posts, I returned to my former encampment lest by exposing the troops longer to the heats of the day and the heavy dews which fall by night many of them might get sick. This movement became also necessary, in order to have the assistance of the followers of the army to beat out the paddy, we could glean from the country, laying within the bounds, into rice. In order to obtain subsistence from day to day we were obliged to send parties over the country within the bound hedge to dig the ground for hoards of paddy which the inhabitants in time of trouble, like the present, are very apt to lay up as a security against want. By this means we obtained a little but which was very inadequate to our necessities, and had it not been for the spirited exertions of Mr. Daniel, the Acting Chief, who at all risks sacked the town to procure us a supply of grain, we must have been reduced to a state which foreboded the most fatal consequences. On the 12th at noon my anxieties were greatly alleviated by seeing the French fleet get all under sail, and as they steered a course to clear the Bay, a prospect of procuring assistance from the northward was opened to me, and I lost not a moment in sending intelligence of it to Madras and to Sadras, where, knowing the distress I might be in, some rice vessels had previously been sent and which last I had the satisfaction of seeing come to an anchor in this road on the 17th at noon. By this time the inhabitants of the town were next to starving, some absolutely had died for want, and two days more would have completed the melancholly scene, as the troops also must then have been without a grain to eat. I had by the aid of Mr. Daniel made a small provision to have enabled me to act in this last extremity, and which was about three days' rice I had with inconceivable labor got together. And with which at a hazard dictated by a regard for the public, an unwillingness to subject the credit of the British arms to a disgrace which from their situation appeared to be inevitable, and a desire, if possible, to extricate our affairs from the distress in which they are involved, I determined to force my way at all risks into the Tanjore country, as the only place with three days' provisions I had the least chance of attaining and subsisting the army in. The same motives which dictated this daring undertaking, now our distress for provisions are greatly removed, induce me to continue in my station here, until I can reinforce the army by drafts from the southward, for which purpose I have sent some vessels to Nagore to receive on board as many seapoys from the Tanjore corps as can be embarked and landed here. The situation of the enemy's army rendering it altogether impracticable to bring them by land, at any rate too dangerous for me in prudence to think of it. My army originally small stands greatly in need of an augmentation, having been considerably weakened by the respectable garrison left in Caringuley, and by deaths, desertions and the other casualties incident to the military service.

I need not take up your time with commenting on the conduct of the French Admiral, or describing the injuries we must have suffered, and the risk we must have run, if he had acted with common spirit. I may with safety advance, that we are entirely indebted to his irresolute behaviour for the little security we now enjoy on this coast. He drew Hyder from Arcot with strong assurances of support, and when he came near, failed in the performance.

If I can draw two thousand men from the southward, and can by any means procure some carriage cattle for provisions, an item, which I am equally

unprovided with as when I left the Mount, notwithstanding all the endeavours I have used to get them, I shall venture to cope with the enemy, although my force even then will not be equal to one-twelfth of Hyder's Army, the best appointed and best served, of any that has yet appeared amongst the native powers of India, and in which he has got about 500 Europeans.

My future operations must be guided by the movements of the enemy; it is therefore impossible for me to give you any idea of what they may be. This much, however, I think I may venture to tell you, that I do not believe he will engage me, but pursue the plan which he seems to have adopted, and which will answer his purpose much better, that of harassing me.

I must not forget to mention another essential service my campaign has produced, the raising of the siege of Vellore when it was hard-pressed; Amboor—had there only been five days' more ammunition in it—would likewise from the same cause have been safe, but unfortunately, a want of that essential, obliged the garrison to capitulate.

The enemy have plundered and burnt all the country and villages lying along the sea coast, from hence as low as and beyond Negapatam. By some reasons yet unknown to me, our troops to the southward have in general been very inactive.

Hyder's Army occupies the country from Trevide to Chillambram being in a direct line upwards of 36 miles, and from the former place to Pondicherry it is possessed by large bodies of horse, so that in our present situation we are completely surrounded.

Having without reserve stated to you impartially every material circumstance that has happened that can guide you to a perfect knowledge of what is our real situation, I shall not trouble you with the conclusions which I might myself draw therefrom, but leave it to yourselves to judge, whether when joined with the insufficiency of your funds to support the expense of so unprofitable, a war, we ought not to seek for the speediest means of accommodation in one quarter or another.

As none of the letters I have received from you acknowledge the arrival of my letters of the 7th and 16th of January, I herewith enclose you duplicates.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

CAMP NEWTOWN,
The 1st March 1781.

EYRE COOTE.

Ordered, that the above letter lie for consideration.

Extract from a letter from LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *dated 14th March 1781.*

I enclose you the Agent's report of the quantity of provisions which he can carry for the use of the army, *viz.*, 12 days for the Europeans and one day for the seapoys and followers. The insufficiency of this for either corps to attempt any military service of importance in the present state of the country, and without magazines to have recourse to, is too self-evident to require any comment from me; the draft bullocks too for the artillery are reported to me by the officers of the corps to be in general in so weak a condition from want of feeding, as hardly to be equal to draw the guns for one day's march.

Extract from a letter from LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *dated 16th March 1781.*

I am now most cruelly situated, the enemy marching before me, and for want of carriage for provisions unable to follow them. I stated this to you fully in my letter of the 14th, by which you will learn that I can hardly carry one day's provisions for the army. The uninformed world will be apt to condemn

the tardiness of my motions, and which, I am sorry to observe, knowing what I could do were I provided as I ought to have been, I feel as a severe blow to my honor and military character. However, I comfort myself in the reflection, that when the real state of things comes to be more generally known, I shall no longer be exposed to the unmerited blame, either from the public, or from individuals.

My regard for the honor, interests, and welfare of the nation is such that I shall use every endeavor in my power to support our affairs. But without money, and without the means of carrying provisions, I see not what I can do to that end. .

Extract from a letter from LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *dated 22nd March 1781.*

The detachment under Captain Bilcleff fell in with the camp and surprised them, and but for the badness of the draft bullocks with the guns which delayed the detachment with General Munro, the surprise would have been complete, and they would have been hemmed in, so that very few of the number which were supposed to be about 1,500, could have escaped. They have, however, had some success, having taken about 30 horses, 40 bullocks, a camel loaded with rockets, and wounded and killed a great many of the enemy; they have plundered the camp in which they found in proportion to the numbers great plenty of provisions, and all kind of bazaar articles which shows how well they are supplied.

I leave you to judge, gentlemen, when on so trifling an occasion as this, an enterprise is, I may say, entirely defeated by the badness of the bullocks, what disappointments I may not experience from the same cause in more important transactions.

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Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 21st May to 20th July 1781.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 21st May 1781.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., absent on command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 7th instant.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute:—

The Province of Oude having fallen into a state of great disorder and confusion, its resources being in an extraordinary manner diminished, and the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowlah having earnestly entreated the presence of the Governor-General, and declared that, unless some effectual measures are taken for his relief, he must be under the necessity of leaving his country and coming down to Calcutta to represent his situation to this Government; the Governor-General therefore proposes, with the concurrence of Mr. Wheler, to visit the Province of Oude as soon as the affairs of the Presidency will admit, in hopes that from a minute and personal observation of the circumstances of that country, the system of management which has been adopted, and the character and conduct of the persons employed, he may possibly be able to concert and establish some plan by which the Province of Oude may in time be restored to its former state of affluence, good order, and prosperity.

In remedying evils which have grown to so great a height, exertions will be required more powerful and immediate in their application than can be made through the delegated authority of the servants of the Company now in that Province. The undertaking is arduous and difficult, and the Governor-General is far from being sanguine in his expectations that even his endeavors will be attended with much success, as the time which he can spare will, he fears, be too short for accomplishing the end proposed. The object, however, is of importance, and the attempt at least deserves to be made.

The present time affords the most favorable opportunity for the Governor-General's visit: the ships of the season are all dispatched; the business of the revenues are put into an easy channel and will not require much of the Board's attention; and nothing of any consequence can happen after the setting in of the rains that can materially affect the tranquillity of the country or the general system of politics; but what chiefly renders the present opportunity favorable is the mutual confidence which, after a period of so many years, is at length happily restored between the Members of this Administration, and which enables the Governor-General to leave Calcutta with the fullest reliance that the affairs of the Presidency under the charge of Mr. Wheler will suffer no detriment from his absence; and he is thoroughly convinced that such a confidential communication will subsist between them that the business in which he and Mr. Wheler may be respectively engaged will meet with the concurrence and approbation of both.

It is hoped that the Governor-General's visit to Oude will also afford him an opportunity of negotiating effectually with the Berar Government and fixing Moodajee Boosla to act decidingly and openly in our favor. Dewagur Pundit, his Minister, who has long dictated the politics at the Court at Nagpore, has often professed an intention of meeting the Governor-General to consult measures with him for the mutual benefit and safety of the Bengal and Berar Governments; but whilst nothing is done to fix his intentions to a particular period and place, they might be postponed, from time to time, and never carried

into execution. When he is informed of the Governor-General's design of proceeding to Oude, and that one of the objects of his journey is to give him a meeting at Benares, it is probable that he will surmount those obstacles and difficulties which have hitherto retarded, and might otherwise still continue to retard him, from carrying his intentions into execution.

The Governor-General thinks that about the 15th of July he will be ready to leave the Presidency.

The 21st May 1781.

MR. WHELER,—The Governor-General's representation of the present state of the Province of Oude I believe to be but too well founded, and am convinced that it will require his utmost abilities and powers, applied and exercised on the spot, to restore it to its former good state and affluence.

I admit the force of the Governor-General's arguments proving the present season to be the most favorable for his leaving the Presidency, and the more readily agree to them from the opportunity it will afford of negotiating effectually with the Berar Government. But notwithstanding the greatness of the objects which may, and I trust, will be attained by the proposed expedition, I am persuaded that nothing but the harmony and good understanding which, at this time, prevails in the Council, could induce the Governor-General to withdraw his attention from the affairs of the Presidency at a crisis like the present, and unless convinced that I was so fortunate as to possess his entire confidence, and that I might rely upon receiving his support and sanction to the measures which I might deem proper to pursue in his absence, I should at this time accept with reluctance of so weighty a charge. For although it may not be difficult to provide for the usual occurrences of this Government, yet such others may during his absence intervene and demand immediate decisions as are not within the reach of human foresight, and in such instances I should not be able to exert myself under the influence of distrust or restraint. The Governor-General finds himself under the disagreeable necessity of reviving the subject of Mr. Bristow's appointment of Resident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude and of moving that he may be recalled. His general reasons for this motion have been recorded very fully in various parts of the consultations, and particularly in those of the 2nd and 3rd October and 14th January last; to these a recent motive is added in the necessity of removing every circumstance which may contribute to lessen his influence on the effect of any negotiations in which he may be engaged in the prosecution of his intended visit to Lucknow, and in the accompanying letters just received from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-General, and to his Minister, Raja Govind Ram.

Agreed to the Governor-General's motion and ordered accordingly.

From the NABOB VIZIER, *to the Governor-General.*

Received 20th May.

I have frequently written to you that I cannot submit to the authority of two gentlemen, and desiring that you would recall Mr. John Bristow and engage by writing to continue Mr. Middleton for ever with me, because from the beginning to this time, I have never deviated from the friendship of the Company and you. I have been for a long time hopeful, that from the increased friendship, I shall be in peace and relieved from all difficulties; and particularly at this time when, agreeably to my wishes, you have, by the blessing of God, the power. You have frequently promised in reply to my request, that you would send for me, but as yet you have never done it. The particulars of Mr. Bristow are as follows:—He openly and publicly declares, that he is in expectation of orders from Europe giving him entire authority over the affairs of this quarter, and that he has such connection and interest with the gentlemen in Europe that orders for his authority will most certainly be sent, and that he will not give

up the post for 10, 15 or 20 years; that he now remains silent but at last will receive full powers and will then call me to an account for my behaviour to him. These expressions, there can be no doubt of, as they are publicly spoken. As such declarations and threats made use of by him are an insult to you and an injury to the administration of affairs here, I am therefore certain that you will not consent to my suffering such distress. For God's sake be not unfavorable in this matter, but recall Mr. John Bristow from hence and grant me a written agreement specifying that Mr. Middleton shall be continued for ever with me; and to prevent his applying to Europe, send me, if you think proper, the drafts of letters which I may write to the King, the Viziers and the Chiefs of the Company, and do you also write. From your favor and kindness let this be done without delay.

(A true translation.)

EDLESS.

To the NABOB VIZIER, written 21st May 1781.

I have received your two letters, the one advising me to quit Calcutta during the present unhealthy state of it, which has caused the death of many persons, and the other acquainting me that you cannot submit to the orders of two gentlemen, and desiring that I will recall Mr. Bristow, who publicly declares, that he is in expectation of orders from Europe giving him the sole authority in this country, &c., &c., with many other particulars which I fully understand, and which gave me great pleasure.

In obedience of orders from the Court of Directors, as at that time there was a different object and system, Mr. Bristow was sent to your presence, and his continuing with you was thought the same thing as if I was there; and although you frequently wrote to me requesting his removal, and I knew it could easily be done, yet I would not do it. At this time, however, that you have written to Raja Govind Ram that any delay in his recall will be attended with disgrace, and as you have written to me fully in the same words, I therefore (to shew that nothing is further from my wish than your dishonour) immediately on the receipt of your letter sent to Mr. Bristow to return to Calcutta.

It is nearly three years since Raja Govind Ram, who is a faithful servant of your Government, has been desirous of effecting an interview between Your Highness and myself, and you yourself have repeatedly written to me, that if I have no leisure you will come to this quarter, and this you likewise mentioned in your handwriting in a letter from the Nabob Moneer-ud-Dowlah which was delivered to me by Mr. Vansittart. As I consider that this would be putting Your Highness to great inconvenience, and as I myself had no leisure from the weight of public affairs, I promised you, that as soon as I could find the smallest opportunity, I would have the honor of an interview with Your Highness. At this time that you mention in your letter to the Raja, that you will come to Calcutta in person, without the knowledge or permission of any one, in order to prevent you from taking that trouble, I have resolved, now that I have a little leisure, to go to your quarter; but as it will require one month for preparations, I shall be detained for a little time, after which, by the blessing of God, I shall leave this place, and arriving with you shall, by the blessing of God, have an interview with Your Highness which is the greatest wish of my heart, but I request that you will never take the trouble of coming.

I have already, agreeable to your first directions, dismissed Bahar Ali Khan, the particulars of which you will learn from Raja Govind Ram.

(A true copy.)

EDLESS.

Copy of a letter from the NABOB VIZIER, to RAJA GOVIND RAM.

I have frequently written to the Nabob Amand-ud-Dowlah about the recal of Mr. John Bristow, and the Nabob promised he would soon do it, but to this

time he has not had an opportunity of doing it; in the meantime Mr. Bristow resides here and has come twice to pay a visit, but I have not yet returned it, nor will I return it. He is now expecting orders from Europe, which, he says, will give him sole and entire authority. Represent this to the Nabob in private; by the blessing of God, you are well and acquainted with all matters; this long delay after Mr. Bristow has been told that he will be recalled to Calcutta is a disgrace on both sides. I imagine that the Nabob is acting prudently, so as to prevent Mr. Bristow's attempts for reaching Europe, otherwise how could the orders from Calcutta have been so delayed. By the blessing of God, the Nabob, conformable to the wishes of his friends, has got the power; it is therefore necessary for him to attend the concerns of his friends to recall Mr. Bristow from hence, and to grant a summons in the nature of an engagement to Mr. Middleton to remain here for ever. If it is proper, I will write to the King, the Vizier and the Chiefs of the Company, in such manner as he shall direct, and in the words he shall order, that Mr. Bristow's views may be thwarted there. A long time has passed in anxious expectation; let him now be favorable to me and recall Mr. Bristow without delay; should any further delay happen in this matter, or no answer be returned to my letters being remediless, I will, without the permission or knowledge of the Nabob, leave this place, and go to the Nabob's presence. Why is Bahar Ali Khan still in that quarter? Do you mention it to the Nabob and procure his dismission from thence, that he may come to Faizabad, and let the Nabob write to my mother, that when he comes in person to this quarter, he will do whatever the nature of affairs shall require.

(A true translation.)

EDLESS.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 3rd July 1781.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President:*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, absent on service at Fort St. George.

Read and approved the Proceedings of yesterday.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the following letter, this instant received from CAPTAIN PARR, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop the *Chaser*, by the hands of the Purser of that Ship, by whom he learns that the Company's Packet *Swallow* was met by the squadron under SIR EDWARD HUGHES on the 20th June, a few miles to the southward of Madras, having on board GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, appointed to the Government of Fort St. George, and a packet for this Presidency.

Captain Parr, to the Governor-General, the 2nd July.

SIR,—I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you of my leaving Sir Edward Hughes, on the 24th of last month, in company and under the command of Captain Mitchell in the *Coventry* Frigate, from which ship I was separated in a gale of wind on the evening of the 28th, a little to the no'ward of the False Point off Palmyras, since which I have not heard the least account of her.

I know there was on board her dispatches of consequence to you, and I am certain they must contain accounts of a war with the States of Holland, myself having orders to make reprisals on the Dutch; in consequence of which I have taken four of their pilot sloops and crave your assistance in disposing of the pilots, masters, boatmasters and men, the whole thirty in number.

This I send by the post from Culpee and a duplicate by the Purser of this ship, who will give you some intelligence that is better not trusted here; and he will be with you nearly as soon as this.

I hope soon to reach Calcutta, when I will take the first opportunity of paying my respects to you.

I am, &c.
THOMAS PARR.

The Governor-General also lays before the Board the following copy of CAPTAIN PARR'S instructions from SIR EDWARD HUGHES.

By SIR EDWARD HUGHES, Knight of the Bath, Rear-Admiral of the Red, &c., &c.

Captain Parr's instructions.

His Majesty having been pleased to order in Council that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods and subjects of the States General of the United Provinces, so that His Majesty's ships shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the States General of the United Provinces or their subjects, or others inhabiting within any of the territories of the aforesaid States General, and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within His Majesty's dominions.

You are therefore hereby required and directed to carry into execution His Majesty's said order with the utmost of your power by taking or destroying the ships, vessels, forts, towns, goods, and effects of the States General of the United Provinces, their subjects or others inhabiting within any of the territories of the aforesaid States General, and to bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within His Majesty's dominions.

Dated on Board His Majesty's Ship *Superb*, at sea, the 22nd June 1781.

EDWARD HUGHES.

To Captain Thomas Parr,
of His Majesty's Sloop *Chaser*.

By command of the Admiral.
ARTHUR CUTHBERT.

Although the dispatches which are said to have been sent by the *Coventry* are not arrived yet, as the information contained in Captain Parr's letter, and the example of hostilities actually committed in this port by His Majesty's officers are a full and sufficient authority to this Government for considering the war between Great Britain and the States of Holland as ascertained and declared, although not in the usual terms and forms; it is therefore the opinion of the Board that not an instant of time ought to be lost in carrying into execution the measures consequent of this information.

The Board agree on the following resolutions—

That orders be immediately issued, through the Secretary, to the Officer Commanding at Chandernagore to proceed directly with the force under his command to Chinsurah, to secure all the avenues to the town, both by land and by water, suffering none of the inhabitants to leave the place, nor any money, bullion, or other effects to pass. Having done this, to march with a party to the fort, and to demand of Mr. Ross, the Governor, the immediate surrender of it, together with the town and inhabitants; and that when he shall have received the keys of the fort, he do put the Commissaries, who shall be appointed for that purpose, in immediate possession thereof as well as of the town.

The Board cannot suppose that the Governor of Chinsurah will be so impudent as to refuse obedience to this summons, having no force to enable him to offer any degree of resistance with effect, but if he should, that the officer commanding the detachment be directed to charge him with the responsibility of all the blood that may be unnecessarily spilt in consequence of such refusal, and to use his utmost endeavours with the forces under his command to take possession of the fort and town and of the effects both public and private, and that he be directed to treat the inhabitants with every degree of tenderness, suffering no further violence to be offered than to carry these orders into execution.

Resolved that Messrs. Purling, Heatly, Adair and Ramies be appointed Commissaries on the part of this Government at Chinsurah; that the Secretary transmit them copy of the orders which have been issued to Captain Chatfield, Commanding Officer at Chandernagore, and direct them to receive charge from him of the Fort and Town of Chinsurah, and issue instructions to them to the following effect—

That they, in the first instance, take a particular account of the money and bullion in the Dutch Company's Treasury, that they afterwards proceed to the different warehouses, taking an inventory of the effects in each, and in order to accomplish this, that they require from the present Governor, Mr. Ross, particular accounts of the money, bullion, goods, &c., belonging to the Dutch Company, and the assistance of their servants in their separate departments.

That they likewise demand from Mr. Ross on account of the advances which have been made by the Dutch for the provision of their Company's investment, what goods have been received, and what are yet to be delivered.

That they use every endeavours in their power, in concert with Captain Chatfield, to secure all the principal native servants of the Dutch and their accounts.

That they do allow the parole agreeably to the annexed form to all the European inhabitants of a superior order, and keep the rest in close custody; and that they be authorized to appoint whatever Assistants they may think necessary to enable them to execute the trust reposed in them.

Form of the Parole.

The Dutch Factory at * * * * with its stores, effects, and merchandises both public and private belonging thereto or contained in it having surrendered to the arms of the Hon'ble the English East India Company in consequence of summons to that effect by . . . . under the orders of . . . . . and it having been granted that such of the inhabitants of the United States who shall give their parole of honor to demean themselves according to such orders as shall be enjoined them may remain in possession of their houses until further orders, I . . . . . of the said Factory do hereby give my parole of honor neither directly or indirectly to do anything which may give offence, or do harm, to the said Hon'ble Company, or to the British Nation. I promise to be nowise concerned in, or be consenting to, the forcible or clandestine removal, diminution, or spoiling of any of the abovementioned stores, effects, or merchandizes but will give immediate notice thereof to . . . .

Moreover I promise to surrender myself prisoner of war at . . . . . whenever I shall be summoned, and till then to obey these and all other orders as shall be enjoined me by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council at Calcutta, to whom I hereby give this my parole of honor.

In presence of

These terms were granted and these restrictions enjoined by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council at Calcutta and so to continue until further orders.

A. B., &c.

Resolved that immediate possession be taken of all the Dutch Factories in these Provinces, and that, in order to carry this resolution into execution, the following circular letter be written to the commanding officer at the different stations of the Army adjoining to them.

SIR,—You are hereby commanded immediately upon receipt of this letter

Circular letter to commanding officers.

to send a military force to demand the immediate surrender of the Dutch Factory at . . . . . with all stores, and other effects both public and private, which having done, you will deliver the same over to the charge of Mr. . . . . .

In case of refusal to deliver up the Factory, &c., as demanded, you will immediately take possession by force.

Agreed that the following circular letter be written to the Committee of Revenue, to the Chiefs at Patna, Dacca and Moorshedabad, and to the Resident at Balasore.

Orders having been issued to the commanding officer at . . . . .

Circular letter to the Committee of Revenue, &c.

to send a military force to the Dutch Factory at . . . to demand the immediate surrender thereof with all the stores and other effects both public and private belonging to the Dutch and to deliver the same to you.

You will therefore take inventories of all the money, bullion, and effects which may be found therein, taking proper care to preserve them untouched and forward the same to the Commissaries at Chinsurah, Messrs. Purling, Heatly, Adair and Ramies, with whom you will correspond, following such instructions as they may think necessary to send you for your future guidance.

You will allow the parole agreeable to the accompanying form to all the European inhabitants of the place of a superior order, and keep the rest in close custody.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute:—

Governor-General's minute.

In my minute which I laid before the Board on the 21st May I expressed the satisfaction with which I could at this juncture leave the Presidency from the mutual confidence which was happily established between Mr. Wheler and me. I now readily repeat that sentiment, and observe with pleasure that Mr. Wheler confirms it. Before my departure it is probable that we shall in concert have provided at the Board for almost every important circumstance that can eventually happen during my absence. But if any should occur, for which no previous provision shall have been made in the Resolutions of the Board, Mr. Wheler may act with immediate decision, and with the fullest confidence of my support. In all such emergencies, as well as in conducting the ordinary business of the Presidency, and in general in all matters of this Government, excepting those which may specially or generally be entrusted to me, Mr. Wheler, during my absence, may consider himself as possessed of the full powers of the Governor-General and Council of this Government, as in effect, he is by the constitution, and he may be assured that if sanction and concurrence shall be or be deemed necessary to the confirmation of his measure, he shall receive them.

Resolved that the following credentials be given to the Governor-General:—

Governor-General's credentials.

Whereas it has been resolved that the Governor-General shall proceed to Benares and to Lucknow for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the Nabob Vizier and Dewagur Pundit, the Dewan of the Raja of Berar, and for the other consequent purposes which are expressed in the minute of the Board passed to this effect on the 21st May last, and whereas besides the said purposes others may occur which may require the immediate presence of the Governor-General with an effective and complete authority for their execution, it is hereby resolved that the Governor-General shall be and is invested with full power and authority to form such arrangements with the Raja of Benares, for the better government of his zemidary, and to perform such acts for the improvement of the interest which the Hon'ble Company possesses in it, as he shall think fit, and

consonant to the mutual relation and actual engagement subsisting between the Company and the Raja. To assist the Nabob Vizier in forming such regulations as may be necessary for the peace and order of his Government, the improvement of his revenue, and the adjustment of the mutual concerns subsisting between him and the Company, with such authority to enforce the same as the Governor-General and Council might or could exercise, occasions in which they would be warranted to exercise the same by the claims which the Hon'ble Company hold, or may have, on the revenues of the dominions of the said Nabob. And to form and conclude such several engagements or treaties with the Nabob Vizier, the Government of Berar, and with any other of the Chiefs or powers of Indostan as he shall judge expedient and necessary, whether for the termination or more effectual prosecution of the war with the Mahratta State, or the advancement of the interests of the Hon'ble Company, or for the strict and permanent establishment and confirmation of the alliances which do at present subsist, or which he shall judge it necessary to form with the said Chiefs and powers respectively, and it is hereby declared that all such acts, and all such engagements or treaties made as aforesaid, shall be binding on the Governor-General and Council in the same manner and as effectually as if they had been passed and done by the special and immediate concurrence and actual sanction of the Governor-General and Council in Council assembled.

Given in Fort William under the Seal of the Hon'ble Company and under the hands of the Governor-General and Council this third day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

The time approaching for the Governor-General's departure, the Board think it necessary to communicate the following resolutions to the Commander-in-Chief, to be published in General Orders:—

The Governor-General intending to visit the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, it is therefore ordered that all such orders as he shall from this time think it proper to issue to the troops stationed beyond the Provinces as well in the dominions of the Nabob Vizier as those which are situated beyond them, shall be obeyed, and that his single authority shall be considered and received as of the same force as that of the Governor-General and Council collectively, until this order shall be revoked.

Agreed and ordered that the military power vested in the Hon'ble Warren Hastings as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Garrison and Fortress of Fort William and Town of Calcutta be exercised by Edward Wheler, Esquire, during the absence of the Hon'ble the Governor-General.

Resolved that the following circular letter be written to Colonel James Morgan, &c.

Sir,—The Governor-General intending to visit the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, we therefore direct you to obey all such orders and instructions as he may from this time think proper to issue to you, and to the troops under your command in his own name, and in all respects to consider his single authority as of the same force, until this order shall be revoked, as that of the Governor-General and Council collectively.

We are, &c.

The same order to be written to Colonel Muir, Colonel Cummings, and Major Popham; and the same, with the exception of the words "*and to the troops under your command,*" to Mr. Middleton, Mr. Thee and Mr. Markham.

Ordered that the Secretary do immediately prepare the above papers, but that they be not issued until the Governor-General shall have taken leave of the Board.

The Governor-General reports to the Board that he has made every preparation for his departure, and has no impediment to his setting off immediately, but the necessity of waiting for the *Swallow's* dispatches.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 6th July 1781.

Friday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, absent on service at Fort St. George.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

The Board having long sensibly experienced the great inconvenience which has attended their political transactions from the want of a punctual and connected intercourse with the other Presidencies, and having lately in part supplied that defect by the appointment of Mr. Richard Sulivan to be their Resident at Fort St. George, they deem it highly proper and necessary that a similar appointment, comprehending the whole political state of the Presidency of Bombay, should be made for that Presidency. It is therefore resolved that Mr. James Lucy Dighton be appointad Resident on the part of this Government with the President and Select Committee of Bombay, for the purpose of transmitting such information as shall be furnished him by that Presidency of the political state and events which have a relation to it.

Resolved that the following letter be written to Bombay:—

GENTLEMEN,—Having long and sensibly experienced the great inconvenience that has attended our political transactions from the want of a punctual and connected intercourse with the other Presidencies, and having lately in part supplied this defect by appointing a Resident at Fort St George, we deem it also necessary that a similar appointment should take place at Bombay. We have therefore thought proper to nominate Mr. J. Lucy Dighton to be the Resident of this Government with you for the purpose of transmitting to us such information and intelligence as it may be material for us to know of all political matters and events which have a relation to your Presidency or to the Company's interests in general.

We therefore desire that you will be pleased to cause him to be furnished with the progressive detail of your political transactions, the state of your revenues, and in general, information of all other matters, the knowledge of which may be of use to us in our correspondence with your Government, and which may the better enable us to co-operate with you for the advancement of our common interest.

We are, &c.,

Governor-General and Council.

Agreed that Mr. Dighton be allowed for this duty the usual salary granted to persons employed on such commissions, *viz.*:—

	R
Lieutenant-Colonel's pay and double batta	1,488
Fixed salary	1,000
Contingencies	500
Sonat . .	2,988

to commence from this day, that in the meantime he be permitted to have access, under the Oath of Secrecy prescribed, to the Consultations in this Department, for the purpose of qualifying himself the better to discharge the trust reposed in him by a knowledge of the past transactions and events of the Government of Bombay and of the military operations in that quarter, until the season arrives for his proceeding to his station.

As the whole weight of the internal business of this Government and the corresponding with the other Presidencies will devolve on Mr. Wheler on the departure of the Governor-General, it is agreed that he be permitted to appoint a Private Secretary the better to enable him to discharge these duties, with a salary of 1,500 rupees per month, to commence from this day.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 20th July 1781.

Friday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, absent on service at Fort St. George.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 16th instant.

Received the following letter and enclosure from the Governor-General:—

To Edward Wheler, Esq.

On the river beyond Moorshedabad.

SIR,—I arrived at Moorshedabad on the morning of the 10th and left it
Governor-General, 14th July. yesterday morning to proceed on my journey.

In frequent conversation with the Nabob I pressingly recommended to him a strict attention to frugality and economy in the regulation of his expenses, and left with him a plan in writing for that purpose, being the substance of the advice which I had verbally offered to him. A copy of this is enclosed. He gave me the most solemn assurances, and with great apparent sincerity, that he would invariably adhere to it, and as his interest is concerned in it, of which he is not insensible, I have no doubt of his maintaining that resolution. At all events the presence and authority of the Resident, on whose vigilance I can implicitly rely, will prevent any material deviation from it. But in effect I do not apprehend that he will stand in need of a controul, as his disposition is gentle and as susceptible of good impressions as it has been unfortunately too much exposed to bad. I should be sorry that a suggestion of his want of proper discernment in the choice of his confidants and associates should appear even in our Secret records, if I had not a very firm persuasion that his future conduct will redeeem his credit in that particular. His own words will be the best voucher for this belief. When I told him what had been reported to me upon this subject, he acknowledged the charge, but attributed it to the necessity of his situation, alleging that while the power and wealth of the Nizamut were in the hands of another, those persons whom he might have chosen as his fittest companions were either drawn from him by their interests, or were fearful of giving offence by seeming to pay their court in any degree to him. The observation was certainly true, for the conclusion is in itself unavoidable.

I have dwelt on these minute particulars more than they may appear to deserve, because I have ever been of opinion that our national credit is concerned in the character which the Nabob may obtain in the public opinion, and have for that reason endeavored to place him in such a state as might contribute to his improvement, whenever I have had it in my power.

For the accomplishment of the arrangements, which I have recommended to the Nabob, it will be absolutely necessary that the monthly payments of his stipend be punctually made. Otherwise there will be a necessity, or a pretext at least, for contracting debts, of which his servants will not fail to avail themselves, and in that way his expenses will exceed all bounds; nor will it be easy to check them. To relieve the Nabob's present wants, I have directed the Resident to raise an immediate supply on the credit of the Company, to be repaid from the first receipts. I entreat that you will be pleased to order a fund to be provided for this purpose, either by an assignment on the collections of Rajshaye, or any other more certain and ready resource, to be paid immediately into the hands of the Resident for the Nabob's use, as every intermediate channel will be an unavoidable cause of delay.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

He ads of instructions from the Governor-General to the NABOB MOBARUCK-UL-DOWLAH, respecting his conduct in the management of his affairs.

1st.—You will be pleased to direct your mutseddies to form an account of the fixed sums of your monthly expenses, such as servants' wages in the different departments, pensions, and other allowances, as well as of the estimated amount of variable expenses to be delivered to Sir John D'Oyly for my inspection. I have given such orders to Sir John D'Oyly as will enable him to propose to you such reductions of the pensions and other allowances and such a distribution of the valuable expenses as shall be proportionable to the total sum of your monthly income, and I must request that you will conform to it.

2nd.—I have heard that you have contracted heavy debts, and I know that such debts always exceed their just amount. I request that you will cause an account of them to be made out and delivered to Sir John D'Oyly, that a settlement may be made of them, and a plan for their discharge by equal and easy kists according to such rules as I have prescribed to him and he will impart to you. This is absolutely necessary for your dignity, credit, and future ease; it is not fitting that a person in your high station should be importuned with the demands of your creditors, or the people hear their clamors whenever you appear in public.

3rd.—Your monthly income is 1,33,333-5-6-3; let the sum of ₹1,16,000 be appropriated to your monthly expenses in the manner proposed by the 1st Article, and the remainder, being 17,333-5-6-3 per month, set apart for the payment of your debts.

4th.—You must promise me solemnly, that you will not contract any new debts, but to avoid the necessity of it, that you will confine each month's expenses to the sum assigned for them in the manner which I have proposed in the 1st Article, and that no artifices may be made use of, by any of your servants, to involve you in new debts contracted without your knowledge, and under false pretences. I advise that you cause a proclamation to be made, that it is your intention and resolution that no debts of whatever nature shall be contracted in your name, and that if any of your servants shall contract debts under that pretence, it is false, and you will not be answerable for them. If you have interested people about you, they will represent that this is contrary to your dignity, because it is contrary to their interest; but you must credit me who have your dignity more at heart than they can have, and can have no interest in giving you this advice: it is the only means of preserving your dignity.

5th.—It is my earnest advice and recommendation that you make no presents but the necessary distributions to your own family, especially of cloths and other articles, because this expense will greatly eat into your income, and by the profits of their purchase, and their disproportionate value to the receivers, they will prove in every instance a loss to you of ₹10 to one rupee profit which they will actually yield to those on whom you may bestow them. The presents which custom has rendered necessary, such as kellauts and jewels, should be

given according to the settled rules and forms, of which the proper officers should advise you, and be answerable that they are according to such rules and forms: observe this rule rigidly, and you will find your income much more equal to your necessary disbursements.

6th.—The benevolence of your nature and the desire which you have to shew civility to gentlemen of the English nation may induce you to admit too many of them indiscriminately to your presence, which is hurtful to your dignity and is besides the cause of expense; it also lessens the credit of those distinctions which may be due to persons who are most entitled to them. I therefore request that you will not admit any English gentleman to your presence, who may not have some pretence to that honour, from his rank or office in service. On such occasions therefore you will consult Sir John D'Oyly, who is the competent judge, and will be responsible that no improper persons are introduced to you, and you must forbid any person of that nation to be introduced to your presence without his introduction.

7th.—It gave me great concern to see the damaged state of your Killah—a small expense with economy, and a proper attention to it, will serve to give it all the necessary repairs, but if the execution of these repairs be entrusted to the persons usually employed in making them without any controul, they will cost you lacks. They will be done improperly, perhaps not at all; even in the former case new repairs will be required in a few months after the first are finished. Let a fixed sum be appropriated monthly to this expense according to a plan which will be delivered to you by Sir John D'Oyly, and in this way a very small sum will be sufficient. The effect will be soon visible to yourself.

8th.—You are now arrived at that time of life in which the eyes of all men will be upon you, and at which their observations upon your behavior will constitute your character with the world. The first judgment formed of the character of a man in high rank is from his company, and nothing lessens his character so much as the society of mean persons. Let the services and attention of faithful and old servants be distinguished and rewarded, but let them be treated as servants. If you raise mean men to be your companions you lessen yourself proportionably to their level. Choose your companions among men of family, even in preference to others who may appear to you to possess, or who may really possess, greater virtue or accomplishments. I have frequently heard the names of some persons both of bad character and base origin who have found the means of insinuating themselves into your company and constant fellowship. I shall forbear mentioning them unless I hear that they still avail themselves of your goodness to retain the places which they improperly hold near your person. This caution I have given you as the advice of your real friend, but I regard your interest and credit to be so deeply concerned in your observance of it, that I shall think myself obliged to interfere in another manner if you neglect it, or find yourself so much embarrassed by the habit of long connection as to require my intervention.

9th.—These I make the conditions of the compliance which the Governor-General and Council have yielded to your late requisition. It is but just that you should possess what is your acknowledged right, but their intention would be defeated and you would be in a worse situation if you were to be left a prey without a guide until you have acquired experience, which to the strength and goodness of your understanding will be the work but of a short period, to the rapacity, frauds and artifices of mankind. You have offered to give up the sum of 4 lacks of rupees to be allowed the free use of the remainder of your stipend; this we have refused because it would be contrary to justice. You should consider this as a proof of the sincerity of the above arrangements which have been recommended to you, and of their expediency to your real interests, and your attention to them will be a means of reconciling the Company to the resolution which we have taken and which will be reported to them in a light very hurtful both to you and to us if an improper effect should attend it. These I have ordered Sir John D'Oyly to read in your presence, and to explain them to you, that no part of them may escape your notice, and he has my positive orders to remonstrate to you against every departure from them. Upon all these occasions I hope and expect that you will give him a particular and cordial attention, and regard what he shall say as if said by myself,

for I know him to be a person of the strictest honor and integrity. I have a perfect reliance on him, and you cannot have a more attached or more disinterested counsellor. Although I desire to receive your letters frequently, yet as many matters will occur which cannot so easily be explained by letters as by conversation, I desire that you will on such occasions give your orders to him respecting such points as you may desire to have imparted to me, and I, postponing every other concern, will give an immediate and the most satisfactory reply concerning them.

The Secretary acquaints the Board that in obedience to the orders of MR. WHELER, he yesterday wrote the following letter to the Committee of Revenue.

GENTLEMEN,—It having been represented that the punctual payment of the Nabob Mobaruck-ul-Dowlah's stipend is absolutely necessary to render the arrangements which have lately been made with him effectual, I obey the orders of the Board in desiring that you will adopt such measures as will secure the regular advance of ₹1,30,000 per mensem to the President at the Darbar, to enable him to discharge the Nabob' stipend.

I am, &c.

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Exd.—A. E. deS.

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Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 4th September to 10th December 1781.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 4th September 1781.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

The Proceedings of the 6th ultimo read and approved.

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER, Esq., &c., &c., &c., Fort William.

SIR,—I arrived at Benares on the 14th instant. My transactions with the Raja being of a most important nature to the present and future interests of the Company, I have determined to inform you of them, without delay, in the order in which they have occurred.

The first step, which I judged it necessary to take on the ground on which my future proceedings with the Raja were to be conducted, was to recapitulate in writing the several instances of his conduct which for some time past have repeatedly drawn upon him the severe reprehensions of the Board, and to demand a clear and satisfactory explanation. This paper I sent to the Raja by the hands of Mr. Markham, who was directed to require an immediate answer. In the evening his answer arrived. The following are copies of both:—

TO RAJA CHEYT SING.

"It is about sixteen months since Lalah Sadanand Ram Buxey and confidential servant came to Calcutta charged with an express commission and authority to make excuses for your past conduct, and to give me assurances confirmed by oath of your future submission to my advice, and the orders of my Government. As a test of your sincerity I required your immediate and unreserved acquiescence in the demand which at the same time was made to you in the name of the Governor-General and Council of the subsidy of five lacks of rupees for the expences of the war. With this demand you ostensibly complied in your answer to my letter, and the Buxey promised me verbally in your name, and in terms so strong as amounted to the fullest assurance, that there should be no delay in the payment. Relying on this agreement and promise I gave orders to Mr. Fowke, who was then Resident at this place, to receive money and remit it to Colonel Camac for the pay of the army which had been ordered to march towards the province of Malva, and I made no other provision for it, such was my confidence in your faith; but you deceived me, and after having made the first payment of a few rupees, either consulting the temper of the times, or conforming to a premeditated design, you by shifts and pretexts withheld the remainder until the army for whose use it was intended was reduced to the last state of distress. Many hundreds deserted, and had an enemy at that time appeared against them, their total destruction had been inevitable. In all this time daily applications were made to you by the Resident, and I wrote repeated letters to you, but you paid no regard to either.

"Besides this, I required, in the name of the Governor-General and Council by letter, and ordered Mr. Fowke to repeat the requisition in person, that you should furnish a body of horse to assist and act with the armies of the Company, and when Mr. Markham succeeded Mr. Fowke, I gave him orders to repeat the demand, which he did accordingly with frequent and

almost *daily* importunity, limiting the number to *1,500*, and afterwards to *1,000*. To this demand you returned evasive answers, nor to this hour have you contributed a single horseman.

"I pass over the instances of your conduct in which through the means of your Secret Agents you have endeavoured to excite disorders in the Government on which you depend, and your neglect of the duty which you owe to it, and to the subjects of this zemindary, by suffering the daily perpetration of robberies and murders, even in the streets of the City of Benares itself, to the great and public scandal of the English name, and in violation of one of the conditions on which you received the confirmation of this zemindary. But as the two foregoing instances amount to a direct charge of disaffection and infidelity to the Government on which you depend, and happened at a time in which it was your duty most especially to have exerted yourself in the support of its interests, I have therefore judged it proper to state them to you thus fully in writing, and to require your answer to them, and this I expect immediately."

Answer.

"I received your letter delivered to me by Mr. Markham and I have understood every particular of its contents. Sir, after the arrival of Sheik Ally Nucky I observed all the orders which you sent me, and I received the letter which the deceased Sheik brought me, informing me that every suspicion was now completely removed from your mind, and that I must consider you as formerly attentive to me. But I have not experienced from you the same generosity as formerly. I sent you repeatedly letters representing to your consideration my unhappy circumstances, but you never honoured me with any reply. For this reason I sent my Buxey Sadanand to your presence enjoining him to represent to you the firmness of my obedience and attachment, to lay before you the particulars of my situation, and to learn the disposition of your mind towards me. He arrived accordingly in your presence and represented everything in a proper manner. I have never deviated in the smallest degree from the professions, and the benefactions and civilities with which you have honoured me, have given me the greatest satisfaction, and I have considered you as the source from which I derive the fullfilment of all my wishes and desires. It is my firm hope that I may be always favored with your directions. In this manner I complied with the utmost readiness with the order you sent me for the payment of five lacks of rupees on account of the war: I sent first one lack of rupees with an answer to your letter, afterwards having paid to Mr. Fowke the sum of one lack and seventy thousand rupees I sent a letter requesting a further allowance of time to enable me to make some preparations. To this I received no reply. It being no time to delay, notwithstanding this I was not a moment inattentive to this concern, and as soon as my Buxey arrived I paid immediately the remaining part of the sum. The remitting of this to the army did not depend upon me; if any delay happened on this head I could not help it. If besides the payment of the money the remittance of it also to the army had rested with me, a delay of this kind should not have happened. I have enclosed in this letter a paper respecting the particular sums which have been advanced with their dates.

"With respect to the horse you desired me in your letter to inform you of what number I could afford to station with you, I sent you a particular account of all that were in my service, amounting to one thousand three hundred horse, of which several were stationed at distant places, but I received no answer to this. Mr. Markham delivered me an order to prepare a thousand horse. In compliance with your wishes I collected five hundred horse, and a substitute for the remainder five hundred burkundasses, of which I sent you information, and I told Mr. Markham that they were ready to go to whatever place they should be sent. No answer, however, came from you on this head, and I remained astonished at the cause of it: repeatedly I asked Mr. Markham about an answer to my letter about the horse, but he told me that he did not know the reason of no answer having been sent: I remained astonished. With respect to the sepoys, I received first an order to station two of my companies, which I did. I was then desired to give a tunkhaw for the payment of the sepoys and likewise to pay the Captain, which has been done every month.

Excepting Abdullah Beg, who remains with you, and his attendants, none of my people, either dependants or servants or others in any shape connected with me, have ever gone to Calcutta. My enemies with a view to my ruin have made false representations to you. Now, that happily for me you have yourself arrived at this place, you will be able to ascertain all the circumstances relative to the horse, to my people going to Calcutta, and the dates of the receipts of the particular sums abovementioned. You will then know whether I have amused you with a false representation or made a just report to you.

"I have given my aumils most particular injunctions, and have taken a penalty-bond from them, that they shall keep no thieves in their districts; what power have they to act otherwise. But if ever a robbery or murder is committed in the country, I have been careful to impale or otherwise punish the culprit. If a person having committed a delinquency should escape to some other place so as to elude all discovery, in that case I am helpless; but to the utmost of my power I endeavour to fulfil your orders. I have never swerved in the smallest degree from my duty to you. It remains for you to decide on all these matters. I am in every case your slave. What was just I have represented to you. May your prosperity increase."

Account of five lacks of rupees advanced for the expence of the war—

	₹
1st Shabuan	1,00,000
29th Ramzaan	1,70,000
7th Showal	1,30,000
18th Showal	1,00,000
TOTAL	5,00,000

This answer you will perceive to be not only unsatisfactory in substance but offensive in stile, and less a vindication of himself than a recrimination upon me. It expresses no concern for the causes of complaint contained in my letter or desire to at one for them, nor the smallest intention to pursue a different line of conduct. An answer couched nearly in terms of defiance to requisitions of so serious a nature I could not but consider as a strong indication of that spirit of independency which the Raja has for some years past assumed, and of which indeed I had early observed other manifest symptoms both before and from the instant of my arrival here.

Under these alarming appearances of the Raja's conduct and disposition I conceived myself indispensably obliged to form some immediate and decisive plan for obviating their consequences, and for the preservation of the Company's rights and interests in this zemindary. To have left him in the full exercise of powers which he had notoriously abused, and which it was to be apprehended he would employ to the most dangerous purposes, was totally inconsistent with the maxims of justice and prudence. To divest him entirely of the zemindary, though justifiable on the grounds stated above, would be attended with an appearance of severity, and might have furnished grounds for constructions unfavorable to the credit of our Government and to my own reputation, from the natural influence which every act of rigor exercised in the persons of men who stand in elevated stations, is apt to impress on the minds of those who are too remote from the scene of action to judge by any evidence but of the direct facts themselves of their motives or propriety.

Thus circumstanced and attentive to these opposite considerations, I laid down the following plan for my future proceedings.

I first directed the Resident to repair to the Raja who resided at his house situated on this side of the river at the distance of about two miles, and gave him the following instructions:—

BENARES, *the 15th August 1781,*
10 at night.

To MR. WILLIAM MARKHAM, Resident at Benares.

SIR,—It is my order that you proceed early tomorrow morning to the house of Raja Cheyt Sing with your usual guard, and put him in arrest.

You will require his immediate submission, informing him that you act under orders given you by me, and in case of his refusal you will wait the arrival of two companies of sepoys belonging to Major Popham's detachment who are directed to follow and assist you in the execution of this service. Having secured the Raja you will keep him in your custody until further orders.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

On the next morning Mr. Markham went according to his foregoing instructions and was followed by two companies of Grenadier sepoys belonging to Major Popham's detachment. The Raja quietly submitted to the arrest and Mr. Markham returned to me with the following letter from the Raja leaving him under the charge of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and Simes. For the particulars which passed at this interview I refer you to the following report which Mr. Markham delivered to me on his return :—

Letter from the Raja.

"At this time Mr. William Markham being come to me has informed me that Your Highness' orders are that I should remain under a guard—My Protector—I before represented to you on board your pinnace that I was the servant of the Hon'ble Sirkar and was ready from my heart and soul; whatever may be your pleasure, do it with your own hands: I am your slave, what occasion can there be for this guard."

BENARES, *the 16th August 1781.*

To the HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

"HON'BLE SIR,—In this morning, in obedience to your orders of last night, proceeded with a few of my orderlys accompanied by Lieutenant Stalker to Shewvallah Gaut, the present residence of Raja Cheyt Sing, and acquainted him it was your pleasure he should consider himself in arrest; that he should order his people to behave in a quiet and orderly manner, for that any attempt to rescue him would be attended with his own destruction. The Raja submitted quietly to the arrest, and assured me that whatever were your orders he was ready implicitly to obey; he hoped that you would allow him a subsistence, but as for his zemindary, his forts, and treasure he was ready to lay them at your feet, and his life if required. He expressed himself much hurt at the ignominy which he affirmed must be the consequence of his confinement, and entreated me to return to you with the foregoing submission, hoping that you would make allowances for his youth and inexperience, and, in consideration of his father's name, release him from his confinement as soon as he should prove the sincerity of his offers and himself deserving of your compassion and forgiveness.

"Near a quarter of an hour after this conversation Lieutenant Scott arrived with the two Grenadier Companies of Major Popham's regiment to whose and Lieutenant Stalker's care I left the Raja, having given them the following instructions; that they should disarm every servant of the Raja's; that they should allow him any such, eight or ten kissmutgars for the attendance of his person as he should approve of; that these men should be shown to the sepoys lest any deceit should be practised, but that they might indulge him in any request consistent with the security of his person.

"I am now returned to acquaint you with my proceedings and to receive any further instructions if you think it necessary.

"I have the honor to be,
"HON'BLE SIR,
"Your most obedient Servant,

WM. MARKHAM.

As the Raja in the above letter had desired that Mr. Markham might be sent back to him I was preparing instructions for that purpose when I received another letter from the Raja of which the following is a translation :—

Letter from the Raja.

"I am the servant of the Sirkar and am ready from my heart and soul in the performance of your orders. My honor was bestowed on me by Your Highness: it depends on you alone to take away, or not take away the country out of my hands. In case my honor is not left me, how shall I be equal to the business of the Sirkar. Whoever with his hands in a supplicating posture is ready with his life and property, what necessity can there be for him to be dealt with in this way."

From the apparent despondency in which these letters were written, I thought it necessary to give the Raja some encouragement, and accordingly wrote him the following answer :—

Letter to the Raja.

"I have received your two arzies by the hand of Mr. Markham and understand their contents; that gentleman will wait upon you in the afternoon and explain all particulars to you. Set your mind at rest, and do not conceive any terror or apprehension."

To this I received the following reply :—

Letter from the Raja.

"Your gracious letter has been received and has made me acquainted with your commands. You order that Mr. William Markham will come to me, that I must not suffer any apprehension to distress me but remain at ease in my mind—My Protector—wherever you spread your shadow over my head I am entirely free from concern and apprehension, and whatever you, who are my master, shall as such determine will be right."

At this time I had prepared Mr. Markham's second instructions, but before he could set out with them, intelligence came that large bodies of armed men had crossed the river from Ramnagur and had proceeded to the Raja's house. What follows is a scene of such horror that it is with the greatest reluctance I submit to the painful duty of relating it. The guard placed over the Raja consisted of the two companies of Grenadier sepoys as above mentioned from Major Popham's detachment and commanded by the officers already named, who were stationed in an enclosed square which surrounded the apartment where the Raja was. The Resident's guard had returned with him. It now appeared that these troops had taken no ammunition with them. Major Popham sent another company of sepoys under an officer with ammunition to reinforce and support the first party. When the latter arrived at the Raja's house they found it surrounded, and all the avenues blockaded by a multitude of armed men who opposed their passage. The minds of this tumultuous assembly becoming soon inflamed, some of them began to fire upon the sepoys within the square, and immediately as if this had been the concerted signal the whole multitude rushed in, and made an instantaneous and fierce attack upon the sepoys, who wanting their accustomed means of defence were capable of making but a feeble resistance and fell an easy sacrifice to the superior numbers

of the assailants who cut almost every man of this unfortunate party to pieces. The officers, it is supposed, were the first victims to their fury, but not until they had by astonishing efforts of bravery and undismayed amidst the imminent danger which surrounded them involved a much superior number of their enemies in their fate. In this general report of them all accounts concur, though varying in circumstances. I yield to my own feelings in bestowing this just but unavailing tribute to these unhappy gentlemen. In the midst of this confusion the Raja found means to escape through a wicket which opened to the river, and the banks being exceedingly steep in that place he let himself down by turbans tied together into a boat, which was waiting for him, and conveyed him to the opposite shore. Those who had effected his escape followed him across the river, in the same tumultuous manner in which they had assembled, leaving the party of our sepoys which had last arrived in the possession of the house.

On the first intelligence of this commotion I had directed Major Popham to repair immediately to his camp, which was about two miles from the Resident's, and at the same distance from the Raja's house, and to march instantly with the remainder of his detachment to the support of the party. This order was executed with all possible expedition, but Major Popham arrived too late and had the mortification to be a spectator of the effects of a massacre which he could neither prevent nor revenge. He returned to me immediately and made the following report:—

Report of Major Popham.

Consequent to an order for the detachment under my command to proceed to the support of the Grenadier Companies under Lieutenant Stalker, I carried it with as much expedition as possible to Adjet Sing's palace, which I found to be entirely evacuated by the Raja's people, who were already landed on the opposite side of the river.

Of the two companies commanded by Lieutenant Stalker very few remained alive, and the majority of those appeared to be severely wounded. The bodies of Lieutenant Stalker, Scott, and Simes were lying within a small distance of each other shockingly mangled and without any signs of life.

It may be necessary to observe that Lieutenant Burrell was despatched with one company of sepoys upon the first rumor of the Raja's intentions, but the fate of the companies which preceded him was decided prior to his being able to enter the palace. There were, however, some of the Raja's people whom he effectually cleared it of. In his attack he met with some loss.

My utmost endeavours have hitherto proved insufficient to procure an exact detail of the killed and wounded in this unfortunate transaction.

I thought it necessary to leave a company with a subaltern in the palace.

Benares,
The 16th August 1781.

WILLIAM POPHAM, *Major.*

I cannot learn with certainty what is become of the Raja, but the prevailing report is that he fled from Ramnagur, his usual residence on the other side of the river, in the middle of the night, and proceeded with his zenana and effects to Lutteefgur, a strong fort of his situated about ten miles from Chunar. He was accompanied by Sujan Sing, his brother, and Mungar Sing, a relation and son by adoption of Raja Bulwunt Sing. He has also had the precaution to take with him Rane Golab kooer, the widow of Raja Bulwunt Sing, his father, her son-in-law Durbijey Sing, and his two sons, her grandsons.

In them he possesses every member of his family, who can have any plea to dispute with him the right of inheritance from his father Raja Bulwunt Sing, if that were ever a question, his right to the zemindary being derived

exclusively from sunnuds which his father never possessed, but which were first granted to Cheyt Sing by the late Vizier Sujah-ud-Dowla through the influence of our Government in the year 1773, and since repeated by similar grants from our Government when the sovereignty was ceded to the Company by the present Nabob Asaph-ud-Dowla.

I have made choice of Baboo Oosan Sing who held the office of Dewan during several years of the life of Raja Bulwunt Sing, and for a considerable period since the accession of the present Raja to administer the revenues and government of this country, in the quality of Naib, until it can be determined to whom the zemindary may legally belong, and who may be in a capacity to receive it.

To this effect I have caused a proclamation to be made through the City of Benares, and have notified it by circular perwanas to all the zemindars and aumils of the zemindary.

To enforce the execution of these acts, to maintain tranquillity and order in the country, and protect the inhabitants, I have ordered one battalion sepoys from Chunargur, the remainder of Major Popham's detachment from Mirzapoor, and a regiment of sepoys from Dinapoor to march immediately to Benares.

The detail of these proceedings shall be transmitted to you in a subsequent letter. I do not expect they will detain me here much beyond the time I had prescribed to myself, which was about seven or eight days.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S.—The delay occasioned in copying this letter from its great length has afforded me an opportunity of contradicting the latter part of it, and I have now the satisfaction to add that Rane Golab kooer, together with her son-in-law Durbijey Sing and his two sons are safe at Benares.

I have this morning received a visit from Durbijey Sing and his eldest son Myep Narain.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Wheler,—The acts of duplicity and disaffection, recited in the Governor-General's letter addressed to Raja Cheyt Sing, are of a most serious and alarming nature, and aggravated by his reply, which is couched in terms of the highest disrespect. It was therefore no longer safe to continue in his person the full exercise of those powers which the Raja seemed to have both the inclination and the means of abusing, but under these circumstances it became absolutely necessary to take upon the spot such measures as appeared most likely to bring him back to a sense of his duty and to support the authority vested in this Government over his zemindary by the treaty entered into with the present Vizier Asaph-ud-Dowla in the year 1775.

The Governor-General judged it proper to order him into arrest, and the subsequent treachery of his conduct has too clearly evinced that a stricter degree of restraint would not only have been justifiable but necessary; for whilst the Raja was professing the deepest contrition for his former conduct, he appears to have been concerting a plan to assert his independency against that Government which raised him to his present situation, and to which as a tributary the Raja owed obedience.

I join with the Governor-General in most sincerely lamenting the fate which attended our sepoys and the loss of three brave officers who fell in the tumult.

I approve the choice made by the Governor-General of Baboo Oosan Sing to administer the revenues and government of the zemindary of Benares.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 7th September 1781.

Friday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

The Proceedings of the 4th instant read and approved.

Read the following letter and enclosure from the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George :—

FORT ST. GEORGE, *the 30th July 1781.*

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—We addressed you under the date the 10th instant informing you of the victory which had been obtained over the enemy, and we have now the pleasure to enclose to you a copy of Sir Eyre Coote's letter wherein he has given a particular account of the engagement.

We are, &c.,

MACARTNEY.

ANTH. SADLIER.

H. WILLIAMS.

To the HON'BLE CHARLES SMITH, President, &c., &c., Members of the Select Committee, Fort St. George.

GENTLEMEN,—The hurry of business consequent to the engagement with the enemy on the 1st instant has hitherto prevented me from transmitting you a circumstantial account of the occurrences of that day. I therefore take this opportunity to inform you of such matter as seems to me material, from date the 29th ultimo.

Owing to unavoidable delays in landing the necessary provisions from the vessels at Porto Novo, I found it impracticable to move the army till the 30th ultimo; the necessary orders were given for marching at 3 o'clock that morning, but a heavy fall of rain on the night preceding hindered me from commencing my march as proposed. Our field equipage was rendered so heavy by the rain that our miserable bullocks were not able to carry their loads. This occasioned a further delay of another day. One extra day's rice was landed, and the march at length commenced on the 1st instant at 5 in the morning.

From every information received, it was clear that the enemy had united their whole force (Tippa Saib's detachment excepted), and from their position taken up between us and Cuddalore meant to try the issue of a general engagement. The grounds they occupied, naturally strong and commanding, were rendered much more formidable by most of the spots that would admit of it to advantage being strengthened with front and flanking batteries erected with judgement and dispatch by Hyder Ally's corps appropriated for such services. Large bodies of cavalry, who had from our arrival at Porto Novo

hovered round our camp, rendered it impracticable for even a single hircarrah to return with any intelligence to be depended on, of either the strength or position of the enemy's batteries. Our grand guard and other outposts were absolutely the boundary and limited extent of our knowledge respecting the enemy.

The protection of our baggage and numerous followers required a very considerable proportion of our small army to prevent or repel any insult during our march in that quarter, and the forming this most necessary detachment considerably weakened our force in line, which could ill-afford a single man from the grand object of engaging and forcing the numerous army of Hyder Ally, situated as described. However, two regiments of cavalry, a battalion of sepoys with three six, and four three-pounders, the baggage guard consisting of about one hundred and fifty sepoys, the few polygars we have, and our small Mahratta corps, were ordered for their protection; their road lay on the right between our army and the sea.

By seven in the morning the line had drawn out of our ground of encampment near Porto Novo marching from the right. The country soon opened an extensive plain, and as the enemy's cavalry appeared there in force, I formed in two lines, and proceeded on my march in order of battle. We had not advanced above one mile before the enemy's batteries were clearly discovered as to position: they lay exactly on our intended road of march. I halted the army for near an hour; it was necessary to explore, if possible, the ground on our right, in hopes of its admitting to advance from that point, by which we should avoid the enemy's direct fire from their batteries, and have a chance by gaining the left of their posts, to turn or other ways command them. The principal force of their army was drawn up in the rear of their works, extending further on the plain than either the eye or horizon could command, with large bodies of cavalry in every direction, and their rockets were thrown in numbers to impede and harass our movements. During this interval of unavoidable inaction, thoroughly to examine their position, we were obliged to suffer a warm cannonade. Their guns were well served and did execution, we could not afford to throw away any shot to answer them, having occasion for every round we had for more decisive service.

I determined on the movement to the right, and proceeded about 9 o'clock, the two lines marching parallel to one another in that direction, consequently it only required their facing to the front to re-assume at any time their original order. Two battalions with eight field pieces were ordered to form a third face, the flanks of this corps joining both lines on the left to keep some batteries in check from that quarter, which opened while we were performing the above movement.

A practicable road was found on the right, made by Hyder, meant for other purposes than our approach. The road alluded was made by Hyder for the purpose of drawing his guns to a large redoubt about half a mile from the sea. The work was far advanced, and required but another day to complete it; through it we proceeded towards his field; his guns, which were under cover, and his artillery uncovered in line, galled us considerably as we advanced, but a quick and forward movement seemed absolutely necessary.

On passing the road mentioned, I was obliged to file off and reduce my front, but as soon as the ground permitted, formed in order as before, a thick caldera hedge covering my right. Some sand hills contiguous to this pass lay luckily situated, were unoccupied, and contributed very materially to favor my plan of operations.

The minute was critical. I had gained the flank of the enemy's batteries, waited with impatience under a heavy fire of cannon, till I had ascertained that the heights in my rear were possessed by the second line, then instantly moved on with the first, as far as order and an advancing fire of artillery on our side would permit.

I have the pleasure of acquainting you that the disposition promptly resolved on succeeded, for there was no time for aught but decided dispatch. Hesitation in the situation of our affairs would have been little better than a

defeat, having no resource but four days' provisions carried on the soldiers' backs. The guns in their batteries were soon drawn off, and retired to their line, where our attack was very warmly disputed till 4 o'clock. The bravery of our troops at length carried the point, and the first line forced the enemy's infantry, artillery, and their cavalry to give way, obliging them to seek for safety by a retreat. Just as they went off, their principal force of infantry, who were from the situation of the ground under tolerable cover, gave a general discharge of musquetry, but too distant to do considerable execution. The second line obstinately disputed, and with success, an attack meditated on my rear by many battalions of infantry with their guns, and a very large body of cavalry. The different efforts made to force and charge the rear corps of the second line were all repulsed, the heights disputed, carried, and kept possession of, by which the advancing corps were left at liberty to push the enemy in front advantageously. The possessing the heights also prevented their proceeding towards the sea to attempt our baggage, it was from thence covered in perfect security and unmolested.

I was joined by the corps in my rear at midnight. It took some time to bury our dead on the enemy's ground of encampment; every possible attention was paid also on the field to our wounded men.

That night the army pursued the road the enemy had retired by, crossed the strong pass or nulla of Paravendur without any molestation, and took up our ground on the north-western side of it, near to the village of Mootypollam, thereby securing a material point towards completing my march to Cuddalore.

From authentic information the enemy's force was nearly as follows:—Artillery, 47 pieces, very well served; 620 Europeans; 1,100 topasses, and others in European dress; cavalry 40,000; 23 battalions of sepoys, strength 18,400; irregular footmen armed with matchlocks, pikes, and rockets, one hundred and twenty thousand; the above were in Hyder's own pay; besides lascars—pioneers and artificers not included,—these bodies were numerous; also the fighting men of the Nabob of Sanoor, Raja Redra, Raja Arpanelly, Raja Terrimerry, and the different polygars, who have joined Hyder since he entered the Carnatic; his guns were principally worked by Europeans and Native artillery who had formerly been in the Nabob's service, and it is reckoned that there were embodied in his infantry from two thousand eight hundred to three thousand of our sepoys made prisoners in Colonel Ballie's action, and at other places since the commencement of the war. These accounts are taken from an intelligent Portugueze officer who came over to us in the beginning of the action. They are also corroborated from other channels of intelligence.

The behaviour of the whole army on this most interesting day was uniformly steady and worthy of the highest commendation. I was well seconded by Major-General Munro, who commanded the first line; his spirited and active conduct contributed greatly to our success. Brigadier-General Stuart, who commanded the second line and had orders to defend the heights, performed that service much to my satisfaction. In short every individual of our little army seemed to feel the critical situation of our national concerns dependant on this country; our falling interests required uncommon exertions to support them, and to the honor and credit of this army every nerve was exerted to the very extent of possibility; the only difficulty was to restrain the ardour of the troops within prudential bounds; eager to advance it became particularly necessary to guard against accidental disorder, situated as we were, with multitudes of cavalry against us, on the watch to take advantage of hurried or confused movements.

From the want of a corps of cavalry on our side equal in number to the service required, we were with victory decidedly declared obliged to halt just beyond the enemy's ground not being able to take advantage of so distinguished a day, for with a corps of cavalry, the enemy's guns, stores, &c., would to a certainty have fallen into our hands; their strong fine cattle drew their guns off on a trot, nor was it possible for fatigued infantry to prevent this distressing sight to us. The spirited behaviour of our sepoy corps did them the greatest credit, no Europeans could be steadier; they were emulous of being foremost on every service it was necessary to undertake.

Considering the trying situation this army is in, destitute of most of the common resources for carrying on service; weak draft and hardly any carriage cattle (our guns in the face of the enemy's heaviest fire were through deep sand obliged to be drawn a full mile by the soldiers); no provisions but from day to day; pay considerably in arrears; the principal part of the Carnatic and its capital in the possession of the enemy: our armies in different parts of India having also unfortunately received checks; an enemy in great force to deal with, whose rapid success has strengthened his cause with the natives to an alarming degree; no proper force of cavalry on our side, and not half carriage sufficient for our wounded and sick; these things considered, I think I may venture to say that fairly to beat Hyder on his chosen fortified ground was as much as could be expected.

You will receive enclosed the return of our killed and wounded; I am happy to remark that our loss has been inconsiderable when compared to the business of the day.

From the best information possible to obtain of the enemy's loss, it amounts to about three thousand men. Meer Saib, Second-in-Command, died soon after the action of the wounds he received; and number of their leading men are reported to be killed and wounded.

My movement to Chillumbrum and Porto Novo has been also attended with the following material advantages. The Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and other southern countries are freed from the enemy's depredations, and Trichinopoly from an immediate siege, which Hyder had decided to undertake. Provided money is found by Government to pay our troops, and they are enabled to move, properly relieved from those absolute stated wants already recited, it may by degrees be possible to immerge from our present difficulties; but without the greatest exertions from Government to obviate the insurmountable difficulties this army labors under, no decisive military measures for recovering the country can be carried into execution, nor can any severe blow or check the enemy may receive be followed to advantage; it must be evident to every one that if Hyder Ali, buoyed up with former success, had not come down to seek us, I could not have moved the army to follow him; and this is a situation so trying to the responsible Military Commander that an officer of character shudders at the idea of being placed in such a predicament.

I halted the army the 2nd and 3rd instant near Mootypollam, and on the 4th, as my four days' provisions would have been expended, marched to this place.

Notwithstanding the great force Hyder has with him, Tippu Saib invested Wandiwash on the 30th ultimo, taking possession of the Pettah. The enemy's troops before the place are five rosollars of infantry, ten thousand cavalry, as many more irregulars armed, in all full thirty thousand men, with 13 pieces of battering cannon. I have accounts, but not such as can be absolutely depended on, that in consequence of the action of the 1st, Hyder has given orders to withdraw the attack. I have been preparing, since my arrival here, in the best manner I am able, to move to its relief if necessary.

Advice is just now received that the Admiral sailed this day from Porto Novo for the southward.

Permit me to request you will be pleased to forward copies of these despatches to the Supreme Council for their information.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

CAMP NEAR CUDDALORE,
The 6th July 1781.

P. S.—By the last information respecting the situation of the enemy's

encampment, their army lay on the northern banks of the River Velar, about 7 coss distant from hence.

A true copy,

T. KINGSCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 8th October 1781.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.,

JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.,

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 1st instant.

The Board taking into considerations the circumstances of the rebellious conduct of Raja Cheyt Singh, and being desirous to prevent any ill-effects from his endeavours to cause a disaffection in the other zemindars of the country, and at the same to manifest their determination to support the authority of the Governor-General, as well as to promote the peace and security of the inhabitants of these provinces:—

Resolved, that the following proclamation be published and circulated throughout the Provinces:—

Proclamation relative to Raja Cheyt Sing.

The daring and unexampled treachery of Raja Cheyt Sing to our Governor-General at Benares on the 16th August last, and the outrageous cruelty of the said Raja to those officers and sepoys of the Company over whom chance gave him an advantage, are too notorious to be particularly related in this proclamation.

But it is the duty of this Government to declare to all those who are dependent upon or connected with their administration, that they are unanimously and most firmly resolved to punish in the most exemplary manner acts of such rebellion towards the Company, and of such insult to the honour of the whole English nation.

From the time that the English were obliged to send forces to this country, under Colonel Clive, to punish those Nabobs who had unjustly attacked and murdered the peaceable servants of the Company, or, in other words, from the time the English took upon them, in their own defence, the administration of these provinces, the Company and the whole English nation had but one wish, and their orders to their representatives were continually *that they should act with justice to every rank of people in this country.*

It is well known how the laws of England protect even the lowest against those who are highest in power; and it is further well known that the Company and at length the Parliament and King of England have endeavoured to bestow upon every native of this country under their protection, the same security that an Englishman possesses in England.

It was in the true spirit of these noble intentions of the Company, and the whole English nation, that the present Governor-General was selected to be at the head of their affairs in the provinces, for it was well known that he was

beloved by the natives; that he respected their laws and their customs and spoke their language, and that he was an enemy to all oppression.

One strong proof of his possessing such proper dispositions was testified to the present Raja Cheyt Sing, who derived his whole power as Raja from the generosity and intercession of the Governor-General at Benares in 1773.

In that year it is well known that when Mr. Hastings settled the Treaty of Benares with the late Vizier, the Nabob Shuja-ud-Dowla, it was with the utmost difficulty and as a great favor that he obtained from the said Vizier Nabob the sunud that constituted Cheyt Sing Raja of Benares. This act of goodness he did from his respect for the memory of the former Raja, Bulwant Sing, and in hopes that Cheyt Sing would ever show himself grateful to the Company.

Upon the same principles of justice, when the late Vizier in 1776 ceded the zemindary of Benares to the Company, the rights held under the Nabob, his former sovereign by the Raja, were not only continued to him by the Governor-General under the Government of the Company—but new rights were conferred upon him—rights which gave him extraordinary power. These were the possession of the Fort of Juanpore, the coinage of the mint, and the duties of the cotwalli.

The whole of these grants were settled upon the Raja Cheyt Sing with every testimony of the confidence of this Government. But how deep has been his ingratitude to his benefactor; how unwarrantable his rebellion against the Company!

And what must be the resentment of the Company and of the whole English nation, when they hear that a Raja so favored by them attempted the life and cut off the followers of that very Governor-General who had been to him the channel of their favor, and who, hearing of his foolish attempts at independence had trusted himself with slender guard in Benares hoping by his personal influence to recall the Raja to his duty, and to get him to assist the Company in the present war—a war very expensive to the Company but which in its operation kept the dominions of the Raja in peace and prosperity. But when the Company and the nation are given to understand further that the said Raja has attempted by presents and promises to foment distrust and disaffection among other zemindars dependent upon the Company, their wonted mercy can have no excuse. Their orders must be strong and unalterable to punish in the severest manner such examples of ingratitude and disaffection, and the same time to reward with the fullest favor those zemindars and others dependent upon our Government, who shew their steadiness and attachment upon the present occasion.

It will be observed at the same time by our superiors that if the Governor-General had been even harsh and unjust in his conduct to Cheyt Sing, that Raja ought to have submitted peaceably, and to have awaited the justice of the Company, who have to the knowledge of all Indostan done more than justice to other Rajas whom they supposed to have been too severely punished by their servants, as in the case of the present Raja of Tanjore.

It is in this manner that the Company and the English nation will judge of the conduct of Cheyt Sing, and issue their orders accordingly.

In the same spirit of justice, we, their representatives, issue this proclamation and declare in the most solemn manner to all the rajas, zemindars, landholders, and others dependent upon our authority, that we shall never sheath the sword until justice is done to the honor of the Company, and that of all England, attacked in the person of their Governor-General.

And further we take this opportunity to declare with equal truth and solemnity to all the rajas, zemindars, landholders, and others dependent upon our authority, that we never shall, while we manage the affairs of this country, permit the faith of the Company to be broken to any person, nor permit any of our servants or agents to commit oppression, or make unjust exactions of revenue.

The English, renowned over the earth for their good faith, have upon that principle towards their friends, as well as from their bravery against their

enemies, become the most powerful nation in the universe; and we as their representatives in these provinces should be unworthy of our situation if we were less ready to support and reward the fidelity of those attached to our Government than to punish those who attempt to insult it.

The following circular letter is accordingly written with the Proclamation :—

CIRCULAR.

To the Chiefs, Collectors, and Military Stations.

Circular letter with the Proclamation.

SIR,—We herewith transmit you copy of a Proclamation which we desire you will cause to be made public *at the station where you command.*

We are, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 3rd October 1781.

Fort William, the 18th October 1781.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 11th instant.

Mr. Wheler begs leave to inform the Board that he has been favored with s undry letters from the Governor-General since his arrival at Benares, most of t hem appearing as detached accounts of the various events that have happened subsequent to the 16th August, which was occasioned by interception of the dawk, Mr. Wheler judged it unnecessary to record them at the time they came to hand, expecting a more particular narrative from the Governor-General of the various occurrences on which they treat; but as it may be necessary at this time to furnish the Court of Directors with such particulars as yet come to hand, Mr. Wheler begs leave to record the following letters and to recommend that the letter dated the 29th September being a recital of the others, be copied and sent to the Court of Directors *vid* Fort St. George.

The Governor-General, dated 27th August 1781.

SIR,—I have written to you many letters all probably intercepted. I arrived the 14th at Benares. On the 16th the Raja having been sent under an arrest, a numerous body of armed men suddenly crossed attacked and massacred the whole party which had him in custody, consisting of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott and Simes, and two companies of Major Popham's Grenadier sepoys. These having no ammunition fell without resistance. The Raja escaped and fled to Luttefgar. On the 19th a large force returned to Ramnagar. Captain Blair

with his battalion and Captain Mayaffre with the remainder of Major Popham's detachment were ordered to assemble for the attack of that place, and Major Popham to join and conduct the operations according to a concerted plan. The two corps having joined, Captain Mayaffre, the senior officer, without waiting for Major Popham, against orders, on the morning of the 20th marched precipitately into the narrow streets of the town where in an instant he fell with Captain Doxatt and 33 rangers, and almost all the sepoys of Captain Blair's battalion that had entered with him; the rest of the detachment returned to Chunar with the loss of 2 guns, 1 howitzer, and 103 men of all denominations killed. I was in Benares with the broken remains of Major Popham's first party, consisting of about 400 men, in a place incapable of defence even with equal numbers. Preparations were making to attack me. I waited till the evening for a battalion ordered from Chunar to reinforce our party; at 7 repeated intelligence arrived that the Raja's boats were in motion; no news had arrived of the battalion from Chunar. It was resolved to meet it and march with it to Chunar. The resolution was instantly carried into execution. We passed the battalion which returned and overtook us, and on the 22nd at daybreak we gained the bank of the river opposite to Chunar, having met no opposition. The detachment crossed on the morning of the 23rd. The Raja's forces are divided between Ramnagar and Luttefgur. His family is at Bidjeygur. His fixed establishment exceeds 10,000 men and all his recruits bear arms. Major Popham is encamped on the plain east of the fort. I expect to be joined by a regiment from Cawnpoor which are ordered for my guard at Lucknow. Lieutenant Polhill, with six companies of the Nabob's guard, are at hand, and Major Moses Crawford's battalions. My only distress is the want of money and is great. Baboo Oosan Sing, Dirbijey and his son, Nujepnarain, are with me.

I am, Sir, &c.,

CHUNAR,
The 27th August 1781.

P.S.—Lieutenant Polhill is arrived.

The Governor-General, dated 31st August 1781.

SIR,—Enclosed are two copies of letters which I have had the honor to write to you. The first in duplicate from Benares and the last from this place. I doubt the possibility of the first having escaped the vigilance of the people who are stationed in every part of this zemindary to intercept my letters; for the conveyance of this packet I shall trust to a light boat which, with a strong west wind aiding the rapidity of the stream, will certainly pass without interception, if the fears of the dandees do not urge them to quit the boat.

In the enclosed letters you will receive a corrected relation of the events which had befallen me to the 27th instant, though purposely abbreviated in my last for the means of conveyance.

The arrival of Lieutenant Polhill, whose activity cannot be too much applauded, has proved of very great service in freeing the communication with the opposite shore. Our greatest distress has been the want of money and provisions. The latter has been effectually removed, and with it the former in a degree, by the seizure of a large store of grain made by Lieutenant Polhill yesterday morning in a village about three miles distant, information having been given me of it the preceding evening. He was opposed by a considerable body of the enemy supposed to consist of 150 horse, 3 companies of sepoys, and more than 2,000 matchlockmen and Gawarres or armed villagers, but they were repulsed and dispersed with some loss on their side, on ours none. The quantity of grain secured is estimated at 5,000 maunds, which in our situation, is a most important acquisition as we have every reason to apprehend a total

failure of our supplies when the troops of this place are reduced, which they soon must be, to the complement of the garrison. Numbers are yet assembling to reinforce the defeated party of the enemy, and they have been strengthened by four guns from Ramnagar with the professed determination of making one more effort.

I have received no answers to the letters which I have written diversely and repeatedly to Colonel Morgan, to Mr. Middleton, to Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmuty, and to Major James Crawford, to whom it escaped me in my last to inform you that I had sent orders to march to the borders of Bidjeygur; but I have received a letter from Colonel Morgan written with a knowledge of the late events and cannot doubt that his prudence will dictate to him the obvious necessity on an occasion of such emergency of sending a party to my relief without waiting for the formality of orders which he will know can with difficulty reach him. I have accounts, which I trust to as authentic, that Major Moses Crawford with his regiment is on the way and my later letters to Mr. Middleton have been safely passed beyond the bodies of the zemindary. Upon the whole, I can venture to assure you that my situation is actually such as with the reservation of that influence which under every circumstances be allowed to fortune in the events attendant on a state of warfare, will warrant the expectation of an easy and complete success.

Major Popham continues encamped on the plain lying to the eastward of the fort where he will be strengthened by all the men that can be spared from this garrison, and as soon as the preparations are completed for that service he will march to the attack of Ramnagar.

In the meantime I have not been inattentive to our more remote concern which I shall reserve for a future detail, and a more secure conveyance.

The Raja's situation and the disposition of his forces, except the detachment which is opposed to Lieutenant Polhill, are much the same as they have been described in my last.

Hyder Beg Cawn has been some time arrived at Benares, but prevented from joining me by the destruction of the bridge laid over the Burna Nulla, on the lower bank of which he is encamped, and by the sudden great swell of the waters which has made it unfordable, yet I expect him soon, and his presence will afford me material service. I have ordered to be enclosed copies of Major Popham's return of the loss sustained in the massacre of the 16th, of a letter which has been written me by Captain Spark, and the returns accompanying it, of the killed and wounded in the attack of Ramnagar on the 20th August, and of a letter from Captain Blair containing the particulars of that ill-fated enterprize, also a list of the gentlemen who were with me in Benares on the 21st and who accompanied me to this place.

I cannot close this letter without testifying my satisfaction with Lieutenant-Colonel Blair for his zeal and attention, and for the alacrity with which he executed the orders sent to him for the different movements of the detachments from his small garrison, and my entire reliance on the steady conduct and approved experience of Major Popham.

My regrets for the past are personal. I shall ever retain the painful remembrance of that scene of blood of which I have been too near a spectator, and which no future return of prosperity can ever efface from my mind, but in the prospect before me I think that I have every reason to expect the happiest termination of it in the extension of the powers and influence of the Company, and that the past example may contribute to the permanency of both by prompting us to guard against the secret growth of the like evil which has produced it.

I have the honor to be,

WARREN HASTINGS.

CHUNAR,
The 31st August 1781.

Enclosed in the Governor-General's.

Review roll of the killed and wounded of a detachment of the 35th Regiment of Sepoys on service at Benares, the 16th August 1781.

35TH REGIMENT, 1ST BATTALION, GRENADIER COMPANY.	COMMANDING OFFICER.	SUBADARS.			JEMADARS.			HAVILDARS.			NAIKS.			DRUMMERS AND FIFERS.			SEPOYS.		
	Killed.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Lieutenant A. Scott . .	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	3	...	1	4	...	1	1	...	36	35	...
2nd Battalion, Lieutenant J. Symes.	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	1	4	1	1	2	...	...	2	...	30	39	...
GRAND TOTAL .	2	3			2			10			8			4			140		

W. POPHAM, *Major.*

Enclosed in the Governor-General's.

To the HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General.

HON'BLE SIR,—Inclosed I take the liberty of transmitting you returns of the killed and wounded in the action before Ramnagar the 20th instant, as given in by the officers commanding the different corps under my command. I am sorry that several intervening accidents prevented my sending them sooner. The delay was owing to a desire of having it in my power to transmit the return as genuine as I possibly could. Those now enclosed you may depend on as authentic.

I have the honor to be,

CAMP NEAR FOLWARY,
The 20th August 1781.

T. SPARK.
Captain.

Return of the killed and wounded of the Corps of Rangers.

Killed.	*Wounded.*
The Captain.	1 Lieutenant.
1 Sergeant.	1 Sergeant.
1 Corporal.	1 Corporal.
20 Privates.	7 Privates.

JOHN GREY, *Lieutenant.*

Return of the killed and wounded of the Artillery Corps on the 20th August at the town of Ramnagar.

Killed.	*Wounded.*
Captain James Mayaffre.	Lieutenant Charles Vernon.
Matross John Thompson.	Matross John North.
„ John Johnson.	„ John Hickey.
	„ Robert Walton.

Lascars killed.
Lascars wounded.

C. VERNON,
Lieutenant of Artillery.

N.B.—From not being able to find the zemindar tindal who had the lascars under his command I have not been able to ascertain for a certainty the numbers

killed and wounded as Lieutenant Vernon is wounded and unable to go about to make the proper enquiry.

(The above memorandum written by Captain Spark but not signed.)

Return of the killed and wounded officers and sepoys attached to the 1st Battalion Companies 35th Regiment in the action of the 20th August at Ramnagar.

Killed.	*Wounded.*
1 Havildar.	1 Subadar.
9 Sepoys.	2 Jemadars.
	1 Havildar.
	12 Sepoys.
Total 10	Total 16

Total killed and wounded 26.

CAMP FOLWARY,
The 23rd August 1781.

THOMAS SPARK,
Commanding 1st Battalion, 35th Regiment.

Enclosed in the Governor-General's. To the HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General.

SIR,—Captain Mayaffre joined me and took the command of the detachment the evening of the 19th instant. In the morning of the 20th at 7 o'clock we marched off from Chuta Mirzapore towards Ramnagar and entered the town by a street which would only admit of six files. We had advanced about 100 yards when the enemy fired upon the line from the houses and from behind old walls. Captain Doxatt's corps with a three-pounder was in front of my battalion. On turning into another street he was opposed by a very considerable body of men. He fired his gun, the only round of ammunition he had, and commenced the action with small arms. His Europeans in a few minutes were in confusion; my grenadiers marched up close to their rear supported by the battalion; Captain Doxatt was soon after killed and the subaltern officer wounded, with Europeans killed and wounded; the subadar, two jemadars of my grenadiers, and many of the men were at this time killed by the firing from the houses all round us in possession of the enemy. Lieutenant Ball was wounded slightly in the leg making his retreat with the few grenadiers with him, and in the side covering our retreat with the rear guard which he commanded. The lascars and Europeans were so severely fired upon that they quitted their guns; the remainder of the grenadiers with such part of the battalion as could be brought up I put into such open spaces and in the street as I judged would annoy the enemy most. About this time a message was brought me to retreat, which I did in the best manner the situation of the place would permit. I regained the banks of the nulla and beat to arms, the men joined as they could come up. Captain Mayaffre, who was in the rear of my battalion with a gun, was there killed, which I did not know till we were out of the town. I understand he was shot a few minutes after the retreat commenced. Captain Spark's battalion had been divided from mine a considerable way by this gun; his men were out of the town I believe about the time I was. As soon as possible we collected the men and formed upon the plain, some parties were advanced which kept the cavalry off which were forming squares; the people followed us out of the town firing from enclosed fields and the broken grounds; it was judged most proper to gain the banks of the river, which we did. The troops were then formed with their rear to the river and broken ground on the right, left, and front; a shot from the guns occasionally and advanced parties on the broken grounds kept the enemy at a distance. They were taking possession of a small village on the left of my battalion and firing from it. I detached a party to dislodge them and burn the houses which was immediately done; the men's ammunition in their pouches was nearly expended. I served them out about 20 rounds a man from the

extra ammunition which I had brought with me. They were bringing up guns to fire upon the line when it was determined to march towards Chunar. About one o'clock we began our march and reached the Jurgah Nulla about seven o'clock with little or no loss, where we encamped for the night. I had the most exact intelligence of the numbers and situation of the enemy from my hircarrahs, two of which returned soon after we marched. I sent to Captain Mayaffre and communicated the intelligence to him with my wish to avoid the narrow streets; he either did not trust the intelligence, or had reasons for his conduct which I am unacquainted with. I am confident in the opinion that our loss proceeds solely from our marching by the road we did.

I have in my battalion 1 subadar, 2 jemadars, 2 havildars, and 1 naik killed; the number of sepoys killed and wounded I have not yet been able to ascertain, but believe not less than one hundred. Captain Sparks has, I believe, lost about 20, Captain Doxatt and 20 men of his corps killed, 1 lieutenant and 7 men wounded; Captain Mayaffre and 2 men of his corps killed, and 1 lieutenant and 3 men wounded, besides lascars.

I beg leave to assure you that I have every reason to be pleased with the conduct of the officers and men of my battalion. I hope you will impute any mistakes in writing to my being exceedingly fatigued and my wish to have accounts transmitted without loss of time.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
THOMAS BLAIR.

CAMP,
The 21st August 1781.

A true copy,
E. MAY,
Deputy Secretary.

Return of the killed and wounded of the 1st Battalion, 6th Regiment of Sepoys, 2nd Brigade, commanded by Captain Thomas Blair in the action of 20th August 1781.

At Ramnagar.	Lieutenants.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naiks.	Drummers.	Sepoys.
Grenadier Company	...	1	2	2	...	...	13
1st Company	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
2nd Company	...	...	...	...	...	1	8
3rd Company	...	...	...	1	1	...	5
4th Company	...	...	...	...	...	1	18
Total killed	...	1	2	3	1	2	54

At Ramnagar.	Lieutenants.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naiks.	Drummers.	Sepoys.
Grenadier Company	1	...	...	1	...	...	13
1st Company	...	...	...	1	...	...	5
2nd Company	...	1	...	1	...	...	1
3rd Company	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
4th Company	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Total wounded	1	1	...	3	...	...	36

Lascars and artificers.	Lascars.			Smiths.			Armourer.	Sicligut.	Carpenter.	Sail-maker.	Chuckler.	Bildars.	Sweepers.	Doolies and Bhistias.	
	Tindals.	Cosobs.	Lascars.	Mistry.	Framer.	Hammerman.								Bearers.	Bhisties.
Killed . . .	...	...	3	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Wounded . .	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Missing . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	1	...	...

N. B.—Three hircarrahs with the Camp equipage taken.

THOMAS BLAIR.

True Copy,
E. MAY,
Deputy Secretary.

List of English gentlemen at Benares on the 21st August.

The Governor-General.	Covenanted Servants.
Mr. Sulivan.	
Mr. Anderson.	
Mr. Richard Sumner.	
Mr. Richard Johnson.	
Mr. Chapman.	
Mr. Hay.	
Mr. Grand.	
Mr. Markham.	
Mr. Colebrooke.	
Major Palmer.	Staff of the Governor-General.
Captain Hogan.	
Lieutenant Anderson.	
Lieutenant Turner.	
Major White.	On a visit at Benares.
Major Clark.	
Major Gardiner.	
Mr. Totty, Surgeon to the Residency.	
Mr. Barnet, an inhabitant of Benares.	
Mr. Thomson.	In the family of the Governor-General.
Mr. Bowers.	
Mr. Hodges.	
Major Popham.	Military officers on actual service.
Captain Jonathan Scott.	
Lieutenant Hamilton.	
Lieutenant Birrell.	
Lieutenant Malcolm.	
Lieutenant Macleod.	
Lieutenant Wade.	
Lieutenant Calcraft.	
Lieutenant D'Esterre.	
Lieutenant Evelyn.	On their way to Cawnpore since appointed to Major Popham's detachment.
Lieutenant Campbell.	
Lieutenant Zoinvorker Grand.	
Lieutenant Sands.	
Surgeon and Ensign Laird.	

All the gentlemen of this catalogue accompanied the Governor-General to Chunar except Mr. Barnet of whom there are no certain accounts.

E. MAY,
Deputy Secretary.

The Governor-General, 4th September 1781.

SIR,—Yesterday morning Major Popham detached Captain Blair with his battalion and two companies of his own grenadiers and 2 guns (6-pounders) to attack the enemy collected at Pateeta; they were prepared to receive him and made a very spirited resistance; after a very long action the fortune of the day was happily turned in our favor by a bold but well-judged manœuvre. Captain Blair detached his two grenadier companies to attack two guns which were posted on the flank, and galled his troops exceedingly. The attack succeeded and the two guns were turned on the enemy who were soon after totally routed. Captain Blair brought off three of their guns and spiked the fourth, the carriage of which was disabled; he also brought away one of their tumbrils and all his own loaded with their ammunition, three more of their tumbrils with much loose powder were blown up on the field, Captain Blair having no means of bringing them away. He was obliged to leave about 1,500 of their shot piled in a village. The enemy's numbers are reputed 8 or 9,000 men. Captain Blair judges them from appearance to be only 3,000 or 4,000; they were their prime men. Our loss, which I add with regret exceeds 105 killed and wounded, their's must be proportionately more though unknown. It is remarkable that the enemy's artillery and carriages made at Ramnagar are almost equal to ours; their cartridges and port fires compounded with equal skill and their powder much better. This is the second instance in which the service is signally indebted to the collected and intrepid gallantry of Captain Blair; other measures are due which cannot be noticed in this. The 1st, Colonel Morgan has despatched two regiments of sepoys, 40 artillerymen with Captain Hill, and two companies of European infantry; they were at Allahabad the 2nd. Major Crawford is by accounts very near, and the Nabob but 20 coss distant on the 5th.

CHUNAR,
The 4th September 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The Governor-General, 11th September 1781.

SIR,—I have advised you in triplicate of the success gained by Captain Blair on the 3rd. It was dear but decisive; with 550 men opposed more than 4,000. He completely routed them, took all their guns (4), tumbrils (4), and ammunition immeasureable. Major Moses Crawford is at Dildarnagar, the midway between this and Baxar, there he remains till Major Popham moves. Yesterday morning Major Crabb with his detachment consisting of 100 European infantry, 30 artillery, with Captain Hill and two regiments of sepoys arrived, and these were all transported on this side before the evening. Major Roberts with his regiment with 1½ lacks of rupees had passed Allahabad and is hourly expected. The Nabob Vizier, whose conduct I must in justice applaud, arrived this morning at his camp on the opposite side of the river, where I met him; he proposes to cross and encamp on this side with a small guard. His army would starve us. I hope Major Popham will be able to begin his operations on the 14th at the latest and doubt not of speedy success. The Raja has made repeated overtures for peace, less humble in terms than in the mode, but I have declined to answer him or even to temporize. The example is dangerous and ought, even with hazard, to be checked in the first instance; you will have heard and you will hear many false and alarming reports for the enemy invent and our own hircarrahs exaggerate. Colonel Morgan has acted with a promptness and decision which merits public thanks, and I with pleasure learn that all

the officers of the detachment shewed an eagerness equal to his. Colonel Morgan appears to have formed the resolution on the 29th. The troops were embarked on the 31st and they arrived in less than ten days from Cawnpore. I avail myself of the vacant space to assure you that all will terminate well.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The Governor-General, 20th September 1781.

SIR,—I most heartily congratulate you on the success of our arms in the conquest of Pateeta, for the particulars of which I refer you to the enclosed letter from Major Popham. I understand that large reinforcements both from Lutteefpoor and Ramnagar opposed him in the field. It was intended to attack both Pateeta and Lutteefpoor at the same time and the former by an instant assault. Major Crabb with a strong detachment appointed for the latter service marched on the night of the 15th by a large and as it has since appeared scarce practicable circuit towards a pass which lies behind or to the south of Lakepoor. A letter received this morning mentions his arrival on the plain which adjoins to the pass after a march of three days instead of one as was expected. It is the road to Bidyepur and said to be the repository of all the Nabob's ammunition. Major Popham marched at 2 the same night, nor did he reach his ground with his whole line till 10 and then found the place too strong to attempt it without a regular approach and battering cannon. It fell at 6 this morning. I regard this victory as a decisive turn of our public influence, but the greatest proportion of my joy is derived from the consideration that it was gained with little bloodshed, an advantage which I attribute as I expected it, to the superior skill and known composure nor less humanity of Major Popham. Major Crawford arrived here yesterday morning much harrassed but without loss or impediment on his way.

I am, &c.,

CHUNAR,
The 20th September 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Enclosed in the Governor-General's.

DEAR SIR,—I have the happiness to inform you we are in possession of Pateeta, and I believe with little loss. When the enemy heard our attack a large body posted on the hills to the left of our rear made for the camp, but European grenadiers and light infantry whom I kept as a corps de reserve moved and totally routed them. Their cavalry at the same time made a motion with some infantry towards the right of our camp, on which a gun was sent through some high grass to our outpost, and by firing two or three rounds obliged them fly. Could I have afforded a few sepoys from the camp, or had the cavalry done anything, numbers of the runaways must have been destroyed. I just hear very few of our sepoys have been killed and not an officer hurt. The enemy has sustained great loss.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

CAMP,
The 20th September 1781.

WILLIAM POPHAM.

The Governor-General, 22nd September 1781.

SIR,—On the 20th, Major Crabb defeated and routed a body of the enemy in the plain above the pass of Sukroot; their loss was 150 men and three guns

with much ammunition; ours small. The Raja that evening fled from Lutteefpoor. His men followed his example, and yesterday at noon Major Crabb took possession of the place, being totally deserted. I was yesterday in Major Popham's camp and visited the Fort of Pateeta and its entrenchments; they are both contemptible, but in their actual state absolutely impregnable against an attack had they made any resistance. The fort though small is of stone with four towers, repairable rampart and towers, and a ditch, a great depth surrounding them, and the town itself guarded by an entrenchment extending far beyond it, and the space between the hills, rocks, and jungles almost impenetrable. At 1 o'clock we had the satisfaction to receive by a regular salute of 21 guns the instant information of the possession of Lutteefpoor by Major Crabb. I have taken upon me to grant a private commission of Major to Captain Lane who commanded the grenadiers of the army and performed distinguished service. I this instant receive an authentic confirmation of the above intelligence from Major Crabb.

I am, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

P. S.—23rd September—Yesterday at 2 P. M. Major Balfour took possession of Ramnagar evacuated the evening before. I shall go to that place and Benares on the 26th, the Vizier having fixed on the 25th for his departure.

The Governor-General, 29th September 1781.

SIR,—I have had the honor to inform you in various and successive letters of my transactions and of the occurrences which have befallen me since my departure from Calcutta, and especially since my arrival at this place on the 14th of last month. It is my intention to employ the first hour of my leisure in drawing up a detailed narrative of the latter for your information. In the meantime I shall continue to advise you from time to time of such circumstances of moment as occur in the course of daily business, both for your information and for the means of obtaining your sentiments upon them for my assistance and guidance. I deem it a misfortune that not one of your letters, written with the knowledge of the late troubles, have reached me, and I much fear that many of mine may have miscarried, for which reason I shall cause to be transcribed copies of all written since the 16th of last month, and shall transmit them to you.

Lest my letters advising you of our late success should have been intercepted I think it proper to repeat in this the substance of them.

The arrival of the detachment from Cawnpore under Major Crabb on the 16th instant, and of Major Roberts on the 13th, enabled Major Popham to take the field with a considerable force. It was publicly expected that his first attempt would be made upon Ramnagar, but such information having been given of the state of the two fortresses of Lutteefpoor and Pateeta as seemed to promise the certain and immediate reduction of those places, he accordingly formed his army into two detachments, one commanded by Major Crabb, consisting of the 1st battalion of the 6th Regiment, the 7th Regiment, the battalion of the Nabob's Body-Guard, commanded by Lieutenant Polhill, with six 6-pounders, and one 5½ inch howitzer and the other under his own command, consisting of the 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments, two companies of European infantry, the corps of rangers, and about 30 artillery with six 6-pounders, two 8½ inch howitzer, and an 8-inch mortar. The first detachment marched on the night of the 15th by a large circuit through almost impracticable ways. But the spirit of the officers and men surmounted every difficulty. In places where the guns could not be drawn by bullocks the sepoys lifted them up the rocks, and at length on the morning of the 26th they arrived at the heights lying behind and above

the Fort of Lutteefpoor, at a place called Lora, which commands a pass descending to Lutteefpoor and reputed inaccessible against opposition but from above. The profound secrecy with which this expedition was undertaken, and to which the security of the enemy in a region so unfrequented not a little contributed, prevented any opposition to our troops in the difficult parts of their route. Their first movement only but neither their strength nor destination was known till their very near approach. At Lora they met a body of 2,000 of the enemy which they defeated and dispersed with little loss on our side, but on theirs of 200 men killed on the spot. The next morning they took possession of the pass and of the Fort of Lutteefpoor which they found evacuated.

In the meantime Major Popham marched with his part of the forces on the morning of the 16th to Pateeta, a place inconsiderable in itself being a fortified stone house within a very high rampart and ditch of great depth, and the town which is of great extent surrounded by entrenchments. These being all obscured | from observation by trees and thick bushes he judged it not advisable to attempt an immediate assault upon the place, which fortunately proved the cause of a concurrent success on both enterprizes almost in the same instant of time, for in the morning of the 20th he stormed and took Pateeta, at the same time defeating and dispersing two bodies of the enemy that made an attempt on his camp. And on the same day, and on the same hour, Major Crabb fought and gained the battle of Lora which was the immediate and eventual cause of the capture of Lutteefpoor.

The news of these combined successes alarmed the Raja to such a degree that he instantly fled by a distant route over the hills from Lutteefpoor, which till that time had been his capital residence, regaining the road of Bidjeygur, the only direct way to it being through the pass abovementioned.

The consternation of his followers was so great and its contagion so rapid that in a few hours the Fort or Palace of Ramnagar and the Fortress of Sutteesgur were wholly abandoned and evacuated.

Major Balfour marched on the 22nd and took possession of Ramnagar.

On the morning of the 25th I parted from the Nabob who set out on that afternoon on his return to the capital. It is but justice to the Nabob to declare that on the first intelligence of these troubles, notwithstanding my repeated and pressing injunction to return to Lucnow, he prosecuted his march to Benares with only a few companies of sepoys and 100 horse at that time attending him, and has in every other instance given the strongest proofs of his fidelity and attachment. In the evening I departed from Chunar, and on the next morning arrived at Ramnagar. My stay there being unnecessary, and it having been represented to me that my presence at Benares would be a means of quieting the minds of the inhabitants, I accordingly returned hither yesterday morning, and had the happiness to find the city restored to a state of perfect order and tranquillity.

I have issued proclamations offering pardon to all who shall quietly return to their obedience excepting the persons of Cheyt Sing and his brother Sujan Sing, whom their late rebellious conduct and their rancour manifested to our nation in the deliberate murder of many of our soldiers and even unarmed passengers who had the misfortune to fall into their hands have precluded from every title to mercy.

The persons standing next in the line of inheritance of the zemindary were Ranny Golaub Koower, the widow of Raja Balwant Sing, their daughter married to Baboo Dirbijey Sing and Baboo Mehipnarain, their grandson, by the two latter. By the concurrence of the two first parties, and in consequence of a written acknowledgement made by the Ranny of the right of her grandson Mehipnarain, I have nominated him to the succession of the Rauge and have appointed the morning of tomorrow for his investiture.

I have forborne any particular comments in this place, reserving them where they will be more properly introduced, for my detailed narrative, yet I cannot suppress without a violence to my own feelings the testimony which is due especially from me to the unexampled zeal and public spirit of all our

officers, and the wonderful activity with which these qualities were displayed on the late occasion. I have already acknowledged the early exertions which were made by Captain Blair during my former short and calamitous residence at Benares. Of Major Popham I cannot say sufficient to express my sense of his services. Though my letters were everywhere intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a decision and solicitude that reflect equal credit upon his character, detached Major Crabb with his party to my assistance. On the first and instant rumour of my situation Colonel Sir John Cumming with the like alacrity obeyed the order of his march to Cawnpore, as did Colonel Ahmuty in the immediate despatch of Major Crawford and the troop of cavalry. The same spirit animated every officer of every corps and infused itself into the men under their command with an effect so far exceeding the common occurrences of human affairs, that in the complete space of one month this great and valuable province, which had been unexpectedly and wholly lost, was in substance wholly recovered to the British Empire.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENARES,
The 29th September 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S.—As an opportunity is early expected at Fort St. George of Sunday despatches to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, resolved that a general letter of this date be written to them from both departments, and that copies of the Governor-General's details of his transactions be sent numbers in the packet for their more particular information.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 29th October 1781.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 22nd instant.

Read the following letters from the Governor-General with the enclosure in the first of them:—

The Governor-General, 13th October 1781.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to transmit to you enclosed for the information of the Board copy of a letter which I have this instant received from Mr. Middleton.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENARES,
The 13th October 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Copy of a letter from MR. MIDDLETON.

SIR,—I have just had the pleasure to learn by an express from Colonel Hannay that Major Naylor with his regiment yesterday morning attacked and

Enclosed in the Governor-General's.

totally defeated a body of upwards of 10,000 rebels who had assembled, and were marching with an intention to attack the Colonel's force at Sackrera last night. This success will have given an immediate check to that event of rebellion and dissatisfaction, which I am concerned to say, has for some time prevailed almost universally throughout the Vizier's dominions, and most particularly in those parts under Colonel Hannay's superintendence.

I am with the highest respect, &c.,

NATH. MIDDLETON.

LUCKNOW,
The 9th October 1781.

A true Copy,

E. MAY,

Deputy Secretary.

The Governor-General, 13th October 1781.

SIR,—I beg leave to introduce through you to the notice of the Board an instance of zeal and attachment to our Government, which from the peculiar circumstances under which it was exhibited, merits both a place on our records and a public and warm acknowledgement.

It will be remembered that a principal object of my journey to the provinces was to obtain and facilitate an interview at Benares with Dewagur Pundit, the Minister of Raja Moodajee Boosla, for the purpose of effecting a final adjustment of the political concerns of our Government and that of Berar. The death of Dewagur Pundit, the news of which reached me two days before my arrival at Benares, and which I repeat with the most sensible concern, disappointed all the hopes which I had conceived of forming by his means a solid and permanent alliance with the Court of Berar.

I was attended on my journey from Calcutta by Beneram Pundit, the Vakeel of Moodajee Boosla, and his brother, Bissumbar Pundit. The Vakeel, during his long residence with me in that capacity, had given me constant proof of a sincere disposition to promote the interests of our Government whilst he exerted himself to advance those of his master.

When I retreated from Benares Beneram Pundit and his brother, upon the first intelligence of my departure, followed and attended by a single servant joined me on the march resisting all my entreaties and even injunctions to return to Benares where their whole family resided, and where they might have remained in perfect ease and security.

On my arrival at Chunar I found myself in great and immediate distress for money; the troops were some four, and others five months in arrear; and as Cheyt Sing had the country on all sides at his devotion, I had not the smallest prospect of obtaining supplies until the motions of our troops from different quarters should open a communication. It was with difficulty that I found means to raise so small a sum as 2,500 rupees to distribute among the sepoys for their pressing necessities. I must add, though foreign from any immediate subject, that the sepoys bore their distress without expressing the least impatience under them.

Being accustomed from my experience of the interest which Beneram Pundit had always taken in the success of our affairs, and as a kind of acknowledgement of it to treat him with a greater freedom of communication than other persons in his situation, I casually mentioned to him without any expectation or thought of obtaining any relief from him the difficulties under which I labored for the want of present subsistence. He instantly and with some eagerness replied that his family at Benares were in possession of a lack of rupees collected in specie, of which he made me the instant offer, proposing that a

battalion of sepoys should be sent to receive and bring it away, his brother at the same time offering to accompany the escort and to deliver the money. I thankfully accepted the offer, and should have adopted the mode which they recommended for bringing away the money had I not been fearful of exposing their family to the vengeance of Cheyt Sing, and as my Dewan had been left at Benares I hoped by his means to procure the treasure to be transported to Chunar, and received their order for the delivery of it to him. But in this expedient I was disappointed, for the Dewan was so concealed that my letter could not reach him, and Gopaul Dass, the banker, through whose agency the intended plan was to be effected, was about the same time apprehended and carried a prisoner to Lutteefpoor where the Raja resided; neither could I at that time devise any other contrivance to avail myself of assistance which had been thus generously pressed upon me. When I returned to Benares, Beneram Pundit renewed the same tender, and although my distress for money was not then equal in any degree to that which had before prompted him to make it, I agreed to accept it, willing to furnish an incontrovertible proof of his sincerity in the first offer, and to strengthen the testimony which I have herein given of his steady attachment to Government.

The whole sum amounting to one lack of Benares sicca rupees was received between the 30th September and 1st October. I have granted to Beneram Pundit a bond for the same at the usual rate of interest and in the usual form except that it has only my signature to it. I hope and request that the Board will be pleased to confirm it.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENARES,
The 13th October 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Agreed that the bond granted by the Governor-General to Beneram Pundit, for one lack of Benares sicca rupees borrowed of him, be confirmed, and ordered that notice be accordingly given to the Accountant-General and Sub-Treasurer.

Read another letter and enclosure as follows from the Governor-General :—

The Governor-General, 18th October 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—I attribute it to official omission that the arrival of Mr. Macpherson and his taking his seat at the Board has not been notified to me, and as I have received private information which leaves no doubt of this agreeable event, I shall not wait until it may be announced to me in form, but consider Mr. Macpherson as a Member of Administration, and address the Board accordingly.

I have truest satisfaction in congratulating Mr. Macpherson on his arrival, and the Board on the acquisition of a member of whom a long and intimate personal acquaintance enables me to pronounce that he is by abilities, integrity, and disposition eminently qualified to assist and support his colleagues in the present arduous conjuncture, and to cultivate and improve that harmony in our Council so necessary to the reputation and success of our Government.

The Resident here has communicated to me a copy of a proclamation sent him from the Board with their orders to publish it.

As the proclamation is circular and some matters not applicable to the state of these districts, I apprehend it has been transmitted to Mr. Markham by mistake.

I observe with great pleasure that the general tenor of the Board's proclamation coincides with that which I have issued, but as it was written before information of the actual state of affairs here could be communicated to them, it contains

some declarations which might tend to weaken the influence of the new Raja, which I have taken great pains to establish as the most certain means of restoring and preserving the peace and tranquillity of the country. I have therefore desired the Resident to postpone the publication of it until he receives your further orders, and I hope you will agree with me in revoking that which he has received for its publication.

You will easily believe that nothing less than an apprehension of public inconveniences could induce me to suppress a proclamation so honorable to my character, and so flattering to my feelings. The liberal and generous support which the Board have herein afforded me, and their strong testimony in favor of my conduct, inspires me with the strongest sentiments of gratitude and affection, is an ample recompense for the painful scenes which I have gone through, and the best encouragement to my further exertions for a happy termination of the troubles which we have so unexpectedly experienced.

It will appear to have been framed at a time when my communication with the Board was known to be obstructed, and issued without my participation. It will therefore have the happy effect of proclaiming to the world the harmony of sentiment and decision which prevails in our Council, and cannot fail to strengthen the influence and credit of our Government beyond any other principle which could operate on the public opinion.

In my letter of the 29th ultimo I advised you that Mehipnarain, the grandson of the late Raja Bulwant Sing, was to be invested with the Rauge and zemindary of Benares the next day. This was performed accordingly and the new Raja was proclaimed with great form and solemnity.

As a great number of persons were present at the ceremony, and I knew that reports were industriously and invidiously propagated to induce a belief of a reconciliation with Cheyt Sing, I thought it absolutely necessary, in order to obviate the consequences which would ensue from any prospect of an accommodation to declare publicly that Cheyt Singh and his brother, Sujan Sing, by their treachery and rebellion had forfeited the protection of our Government, and that I never would consent to the restoration or re-admission in any form of either of them or any of their descendants either to the Rauge, zemindary, or any kind of authority, nor to any conditions of pardon for their lives or fortune.

Previous to this event I had issued a proclamation of which I now enclose you a copy, and must request your indulgence for not having transmitted it sooner, in which my intention has been prevented by the number of objects which have required my immediate and personal attention.

I purpose to forward to the Board with all possible despatch a succinct narrative of transactions from my arrival at Benares. This will also contain many other matters which ought in the regular order of business to have been reported to the Board at the time in which they passed, but for the above circumstances have been delayed.

It is a very flattering reflection to me that my sentiments and proceedings have been exactly conformable to those of the Board in a situation of great difficulty and delicacy, and at a time when I could not obtain the advantage of their counsel, as it is a circumstance which will convey to the world the clearest conviction of the rectitude of my intentions and the propriety of my conduct.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

BENARES,
The 18th October 1781.

Enclosed in the Governor-General's.

Be it known to the zemindars, aumils, ryots, and all the inhabitants of the Zemindary of Benares, &c., that whereas Raja Cheyt Sing by many acts of rebellion and perfidy and the murder of a number of English officers, sepoys,

and other dependents on the Government of the Company who were unarmed, has totally forfeited his right to the Zemindary of Benares, &c., and become amenable to the justice of the Company. It is therefore made known and proclaimed that Cheyt Sing and his brother, Sujan Sing, and their descendants have from this period no further right or interest in the zemindary of the said province, and all the zemindars and ryots are required to withhold their obedience and submission from him otherwise they will be punished accordingly: And whereas by sedition of Cheyt Sing this country has fallen into confusion and alarm, assurances of protection are hereby given to the zemindars and other inhabitants of this country, and they are invited to repair to their former places of residence and resume their usual occupations in perfect security: And lest any should entertain apprehensions on account of their misdemeanours, it is declared that the past offences of all the inhabitants of this country who shall conform to this order are pardoned. Further, every zemindar and aumil who shall within the space of one month repair to the presence of the Governor-General or Major William Popham, Commander of the forces in the field, and make their submission shall be pardoned, and such as on account of the distance of the road or any other valid reasons cannot attend in person must send their vakeels for this purpose with proper credentials; but be it known that the persons of Raja Cheyt Sing and his brother, Sujan Sing, are excepted from this pardon and the town of Gopygunge, of which the inhabitants have been particularly active in this rebellion and have committed many acts of sedition and even bloodshed on many of the dependents of this Government, shall be destroyed and the inhabitants thereof punished, on a due inquiry into their crimes. Such persons as availing themselves of these troubles shall have plundered and oppressed the inhabitants of the City of Benares, and such as shall have committed murder on peaceable passengers, shall be rendered accountable for the same in the due course of justice.

N. B.—The above is a true copy of the proclamation made public in the Persian language at Benares on the 29th September 1781.

E. MAY,
Sub-Secretary.

Read the following letter and enclosures from the Sub-Secretary:—

The Sub-Secretary, 13th October 1781.

SIR,—I have the honor to obey the Gevernor-General's directions in forwarding to you the enclosed letter from Major William Popham to the Hon'ble Board.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

E. MAY,
Sub-Secretary to the Hon'ble Board.

Enclosed in the Sub-Secretary's, 9th October 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—The want of communication some time, and the great hurry of operations since, have hitherto prevented me from doing myself the honor of acquainting you of the proceedings of this detachment which I hope you will excuse.

The Governor-General, on the rebellion of Raja Cheyt Sing, was pleased to order me to take the command of the troops destined to act against him, which consisted (after being some time in the collection) of the grenadiers and light infantry of the 2nd Regiment of Europeans, the corps of foreign rangers, a

detachment of artillery of forty-nine Europeans, and a battalion and half of lascars commanded by Captain Hill, with two eighteen-pounders, an eight-inch mortar, two eight-inch howitzers, two five-and-half howitzers, and ten six-pounders; the 1st battalion of the 6th Regiment, the 7th, 19th, 30th, and 35th Regiments of Sepoys, and five hundred of the Vizier's Body-Guard commanded by Lieutenat Polhill who had also two guns, five-and-half pounders.

The Raja with an army of near thirty thousand irregular troops had posted himself with the main body in and about the Fort of Lutteefpoor environed on all sides by high hills and thick jungles. On one face a strong entrenchment was thrown up flanked with towers on which were mounted some cannon.

Four of his principal sardars, with about five thousand foot and one thousand horse, were stationed at Pateeta, a small but strong fort equally advantageous in point of situation and natural strength as Lutteefpoor. There also were strong entrenchments at the edge of the jungle in which the enemy encamped.

It being determined to cut off if possible the Raja's retreat to Bijyegnur, Major Crabb was ordered with his regiment the 1st Battalion of the 6th and Lieutenant Polhill's corps, with four six-pounders, through the hills to a pass at the back of Lutteefpoor, with directions to wait there the success of that part of the detachment under my command; also to destroy a quantity of ammunition and stores which was said to have been in a town on the road.

I marched from Chunar on the 16th ultimo as did Major Crabb, and on my arrival at Pateeta found it necessary to erect a battery for the eighteen-pounders, which being done proper breaches were effected on the 19th and in the morning of the 20th the place was stormed by the native grenadiers of the line under Captain now Major Lane, supported by the 30th and 2nd Battalion of the 35th Regiment, the whole commanded by Major Roberts, who succeeded in this attack with very little opposition. The enemy not only fled from their entrenchments but evacuated the fort in the greatest confusion leaving all their cannon behind. The want of cavalry on our side occasioned their effecting the escape of their baggage which had been moved out of their entrenchments some days before.

The behavior of the officers and men on this occasion will appear from a copy of the Governor-General's orders issued immediately after, which I have enclosed for your perusal.

Major Crabb the same morning defeated a considerable body of the enemy's troops who were advantageously posted to intercept his progress. These two victories so alarmed the Raja that he left Lutteefpoor in the greatest confusion, which was immediately plundered by his own troops, all of whom except about two thousand five hundred fled to their several homes.

The Raja by an unfrequented route reached Bijyeghur the next morning; but after having given some instructions to the killadar, left his family in the place and fled to Agowree, a fort upon the Soane close to the borders of his own district, with a quantity of treasure said to amount to a crore of rupees on elephants and camels.

Major Moses Crawford with his regiment and Captain Salt's troops joined me the 21st. Major Crabb on the 22nd marched into Lutteefpoor, and there being no further services for Major Roberts' regiment, the 1st battalion of the 6th, Lieutenant Polhill's corps, and the eighteen-pounders, they were sent to Chunar, there to wait the Governor-General's orders. Major Balfour on the same day took possession of Ramnagar without opposition.

On the 24th, the detachment moved towards Lutteefpoor, and on the 29th arrived before this place, where such dispositions have been made as will, I hope, make it a speedy acquisition. The fort is in good repair with a wall and towers verging close to the steep of the highest hill I have ever seen in this country.

Major James Crawford with his corps and one battalion is at present detached in pursuit of the Raja who has left Agowree and fled further off with

intentions to take protection in Bundelkhund. So much time has unavoidably been given him to escape that I have little hope of his falling into our hands. Major Crawford has placed a garrison in Agowree which was evacuated on his approach.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

CAMP NEAR BIJYEGHUR,
The 9th October 1781.

WILLIAM POPHAM.

Orders by the Governor-General.

The Governor-General, having himself had an opportunity of surveying the entrenchments and Fort of Pateeta, desires to publish to the Army the sense which he entertains of the zeal and abilities of Major Popham in planning so difficult an attack, and of the great good conduct of Majors Roberts and Gardiner and the rest of the officers of the detachment for their assistance in the execution of it.

The Governor-General expresses his particular satisfaction at the firm and intrepid behavior of the grenadiers under the the command of Captain Lane, to whose gallant example, followed and supported by the steady courage and discipline of the rest of the troops it may be principally attributed that a place of such great strength has been reduced almost without loss.

The Governor-General in testimony of the merit and conduct of Captain Lane promotes him to the rank of Major by brevet.

CHUNAR,
The 22nd September 1781.

WILLIAM PALMER,
Military Secretary.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 12th November 1781.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE,

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 5th instant.

Read the following letter and enclosure from the Governor-General:—

The Governor-General, 29th October 1781.

To EDWARD WHELER, ESQ., &c., and Council, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—I lose not an instant in transmitting to you a copy of a letter which I have received from Colonel Muir conveying to me the agreeable account of his having concluded a peace with Mahadajee Scindia, and in congratulating you most heartily on this happy event. I had the honor of acquainting the Board in my letter of the 22nd instant with the advances which had been made by the Pateel for a treaty with us, and with the orders which I had sent to Colonel Muir to enter into it, and shall very soon do myself the pleasure of

writing to you again particularly on the subject, and of transmitting to you the treaty which has been concluded, together with the explanations promised in Colonel Muir's letter as soon as I receive them from him.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest regard and esteem, &c.,

BENARES,
The 29th October 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Colonel Muir to the Governor-General, dated 20th October.

Copy of letter from COLONEL GRAINGER MUIR to the Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated 20th October 1781.

SIR,—I have the pleasure to inform you that the treaty between our Government and Scindia is finally concluded and sealed entirely consonant to the instructions you honored me with, an interchange of which in counterpart was duly executed this morning. Copy and translate with many other particulars of my last negotiations with the Pateel I am prevented the pleasure of laying before you by the despatch owing to Captain Ford's indisposition, who is returned from the Mahratta camp with so severe a fever as renders him totally incapable of business; and as all the papers relating to this negotiation are in his charge, I must wait an intermission of his fever to allow him not only to superintend their being copied, but to explain many other particulars entrusted to his management on his deputation to the Pateel. This opportunity will, I hope, be afforded me tomorrow.

I have the honor to inform you that I have withdrawn the regiment from Qualaras, and I shall march my detachment tomorrow morning, and intend proceeding to Etyah, where I mean to cross the Jumna, unless I receive your orders to the contrary; and as I have not as yet been honored with your instructions regarding the destination of the troops under my command, I beg leave to entreat you will be pleased to favor me with your commands on this head as soon as convenient, as I am particularly desirous to have them before I cross the Jumna.

I am sorry to inform you that my discovery of the Rana's conduct of late amounts to a positive proof of his infidelity to our Government; he has been carrying on private negotiations with the Pateel (without any regard to his engagements with the Company) replete with the clearest intention to betray us and sacrifice our interests to his own private views. Upon this circumstance coming to my knowledge I positively refused concluding any treaty with the Pateel until an attested copy of the proposed or executed treaty between them should be lodged in my possession. This copy I have with great difficulty procured with Bappoa Sivajee's seal affixed, duplicate of which I shall have the pleasure to enclose you in my next despatch.

I shall further only beg leave to add that should you have any commands for me in bringing the Rana to account for any balance he may owe the Company or any other business, it will be necessary to transmit them so as to meet me before I quit his country, and that period cannot exceed the 5th of the ensuing month. With perfect respect and esteem.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

CAMP NEAR SESSAI,
The 20th October 1781.

G. MUIR.

A true copy,

E. MAY,

Sub-Secretary to the Hon'ble
Governor-General and Council.

Read another letter as follows from the Governor-General :—

Governor-General, 1st November 1781.

GENTLEMEN,— Having thought it necessary to establish courts of judicature for the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants of Benares, I now do myself the honor to lay before you a copy of the plan on which these courts are formed.

I shall proceed to submit to you the reasons which have given rise to this plan and flattered myself that they will induce you to honor it with your concurrence and approbation.

The Town of Benares has long been deficient in all these regulations which in populous places are necessary for the preservation of peace and order and the protection of the property and persons of the inhabitants.

Whilst, however, the sovereignty over it was retained by the Subah of Oude, some appearance of public justice was still preserved, and the awe of a despotic Prince produced restraints on the minds and actions of individuals which bore a resemblance however faint to the effects of more regular and perfect institution. But these restraints ceased with the cause which produced them. By the treaty made by the Nabob Asaf-ud-Dowlah on the 21st May 1775, the sovereignty of Benares was ceded to the Company, and soon after the cotwalli or superintendence of police was formally made over by us to the late Raja.

From this period the appearance of public justice was gradually effaced, till at last without any system of police, any courts of judicature, or any awe of the sovereign power, the inhabitants of Benares were guilty of enormities and crimes which reflected the greatest disgrace on the government to which they were subjects. The relations and dependants of the Raja or the merchants whose credit was useful in the payment of his revenue might violate the rights of their fellow citizens with impunity, and the sacred character of a Brahmin or the high rank of the offender were considerations which stamped a pardon on the most flagitious crimes.

Such was the state in which I found the civil government of the town when I arrived at Benares. All ranks of people joined in their representation and of the necessity of a reformation, and these appeared the more necessary from a consideration of the circumstances which are peculiar to Benares. Its temples are held in particular veneration by the professors of the Hindoo religion who flock to it on occasional pilgrimages from the most remote parts of Hindostan, and many who have acquired independent fortunes retire to close their days in a place so eminently esteemed for its sanctity. It may therefore rather be considered as the seat of the Hindoo religion than the capital of a province. But its inhabitants are not composed of Hindoos. The former wealth which flowed into it from the offerings of pilgrims, as well as the transactions of exchange, for which its centrical situation is peculiarly adapted, has also attracted numbers of Mahomedans who still continue to reside in it with their families. Amongst such a mixture of persons, mostly without employment, of different countries and of different sects and religions, it is obvious that every defect of civil government must be productive of more than ordinary evils, and these evils are propogated in all quarters of India to the discredit of our Government and to the hinderance and discouragement of those who, under more favorable circumstances, might wish to repair with their wealth to Benares.

For these reasons, after my return from Chunar when I began to settle the affairs of this province, the reformation of the civil government of the Town of Benares was one of the first objects to which I thought it necessary to turn my attention. The plan which I have formed is now submitted to your consideration. You will observe that I have established three distinct departments for the police and the civil and criminal jurisdiction, and I have put the whole under the regulation and controul of one chief magistrate, who is to be subject to the immediate orders of the Board. It was at first my intention to have included also under his authority the collection of the revenues

and customs of the town; but I found that this would give great discontent to the new Raja and might, perhaps, hurt his influence in the management of the revenues of the rest of the province. I have therefore left it out. At the same time I am sensible that it is a defect which may occasion some inconveniences from the clashing of the authorities of the Raja and the Chief Magistrate.

The person whom I have chosen to fill this important station of Chief Magistrate is Ally Ibrahim Cawn, a man who has long been personally known to myself, and, I believe, to many individuals of our Government, and whose character for moderation, disinterestedness, and good sense will bear the tests of the strictest enquiry. On his good conduct must doubtless in a great measure depend the success of a plan which is to take effect at so remote a distance from the seat of our Government, and it is chiefly from the reliance I have in him personally, that I have ventured to delegate a degree of authority to him, which it would perhaps be unsafe to vest in a person of less established character.

In forming the establishment, I have calculated the allowances of the Chief Magistrate and his officers in proportion to the importance and degree of trust annexed to their several employments, and I have fixed them at such rates as will set them above the necessity, and I hope the temptation of having recourse for a subsistence to the practices of corruption.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENARES,
The 1st November 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

COPY.

Whereas the Town of Benares is and has been for many years past totally deficient in every essential regulation usually established in all large and populous places for the maintenance of peace and the security of the persons and property of their inhabitants: And whereas the said place is the fixed residence or occasional resorts of persons of all religions from every part of Hindustan and Dekkan, and in effect rather the capital seat of the religion of the Hindus than of the territory to which it immediately appertains; and from that consideration alone demands a more immediate protection and attention from the powers of Government: for these reasons the Governor-General, in virtue of the powers vested in him by the Governor-General and Council and in the name of the East India Company, doth hereby ordain and proclaim that a person shall be invested with the chief magistracy of the said town with full and complete authority over every person, inhabitant, or resident therein for the preservation of the peace and administration of justice, with the title of Chief Magistrate of the said Town of Benares.

And it is further ordained and proclaimed that to enable him duly to execute the said duties so assigned him three officers as hereinafter described shall be established in the manner and with the powers hereinafter mentioned:—

First.—A Cutwall whose duty it shall be to apprehend persons who shall be guilty or accused of murder, robbery, burglary, theft, or any other acts of violence against the peace, persons, or property of the people, committed in the Town of Benares and to deliver over the said person to the Court of Criminal Justice hereinafter appointed and described, and to suppress and prevent all riots and disturbances in the said town with the powers of inflicting immediate punishment with stripes of a rattan, not exceeding twenty, on any offender, for which purposes as aforesaid a certain number of pykes or peons in monthly pay, and distinguished by certain known badges shall be put under his charge and authority by the Chief Magistrate to patrol the streets at such times as he shall appoint, and to be occasionally employed in executing the other service of his office. And the said Cutwall shall receive his appointment from the

Chief Magistrate, who shall also have the power of dismissing him and appointing another, and of dismissing any of the officers employed under him. And the said Cutwall is required to obey all orders relative to the duties aforesaid which he shall receive from the Chief Magistrate.

Secondly.—One Criminal Court or Foujdarry Adawlut, which shall be composed of one Daroga and three Moulavies, men of approved integrity and skill in the knowledge of the Mahomedan law for the trial of all persons who shall be brought before them and accused of murder, highway robbery, burglary, theft, or any other acts of violence against the peace, persons, or property of the people committed in the said town, and the suruthall and futwa or proceedings and sentence of the said Court shall, on the close of every trial, be laid before the Chief Magistrate, who, after a due examination thereof, shall return the same to the Daroga and Moulavies of the said Court with his warrant for carrying the same into execution. And the Daroga and Moulavie of the said Court are required and commanded to cause the same to be carried into execution. And the said Daroga and Moulavies shall receive their appointments from the Chief Magistrate, who shall have the power to establish rules of process for the said Court, which rules the said Daroga and Moulavies are hereby required to obey.

Thirdly.—One Civil Court or Dewanny Adawlut, which shall be composed of one President or Daroga and three inferior Judges, being men of known integrity and understanding who shall be chosen from among the inhabitants of the said town for the trial and decision of all debts, pledges, mortgages, disputed accounts, transfers of property, rights of neighbourhood, contested boundaries, rights of marriage, and claims of inheritance and of all other claims of property, whether real or personal, according to the principles of natural justice in all cases not depending on the particular and prescribed laws and institutes of the parties, and in all cases which shall depend on the particular laws and institutes of the parties, the said President and Judges shall first determine on the facts as ascertained by the evidence before them, and shall adjudge the right as established by those facts according to the respective laws and institutes of the parties, whether they be Mussalmen or Hindus, and for this purpose they shall be assisted by two Moulavies versed in the Sherrat, or Mahomedan law, and two Pundits versed in the Pootee of justice instituted for the professors of the Hindu religion, whose opinion shall be consulted and taken in all cases referable to them as aforesaid. And it is further ordained that in all cases wherein the Judges shall not agree in one judgment their opinions shall be severally delivered and recorded, and the greater number of opinions on one point shall be taken and considered as the complete judgment of the Court thereon, and if the number of opinions on each side of the question shall be equal, that of the President shall be taken and deemed as equivalent to two opinions, and the judgement of the Court be passed accordingly, and their judgement shall be final in all causes of which the original amount or matter in suits shall not exceed one thousand rupees, and in all causes of which the original amount or matter in suit shall exceed one thousand rupees it shall be allowable to appeal from the judgement of the said Court within the limited time of one month from the date of the judgement, to the Chief Magistrate who shall have power to revise, or if he shall think fit to try the cause again with such further evidence as the parties shall bring before him, sufficient reasons to his satisfaction being given for their not having been before produced, and either to confirm or reverse the former judgement or to pass a new judgement on the cause, and his judgement shall be final and conclusive.

And it is hereby required and commanded that the Chief Magistrate and the President and Judges of the said Court of Dewanny Adawlut shall keep records of their respective proceedings, which records shall be admitted as evidence in all future causes. And the President and Judges of the said Dewanny Court shall receive their appointments from the Chief Magistrate, who shall also have the power of dismissing them and appointing others in their room, and the Chief Magistrate shall have the power to establish rules of process for the said Court, which rules the President and Judges of the said Court are hereby required to obey.

And it is further required and commanded that the Chief Magistrate do transmit to the Governor-General and Council monthly copies of his proceeding and reports of all persons appointed or dismissed in the superior offices, and of all new regulations established by him as aforesaid, and of all rules of process instituted for the two Courts of Foujdarry and Dewanny Adawluts, and in general of all other matters of consequence which shall relate to the general state of the town, or the several branches of his department, and shall obey all such orders as he shall receive from the Governor-General and Council.

Although the authority of the Chief Magistrate is for the purpose of this institution restricted to the limits of Benares, yet that the ends of it may not be defeated by offenders flying from his jurisdiction beyond those limits, it is hereby explained and declared that if any person shall be guilty of offences within the Town of Benares, and shall escape beyond the limits of the said town, the Chief Magistrate or his officers shall have power to apprehend with written warrants and bring them to justice, and it is required and commanded that the zemindars, aumils, or other officers of the district into which such offenders shall be so pursued do assist the officers of the Chief Magistrate in apprehending the said offender, and it shall be always lawful for the officers of the two Courts of Justice to require and compel the attendance of the witnesses living beyond the said districts, reason being first shewn to the satisfaction of the Judges of the said Court that the evidence of the said witnesses is necessary.

And it is hereby further ordained and proclaimed by the Governor-General that Ally Ibrahim Cawn be appointed, and that he is accordingly from this date appointed the First Magistrate of the Town of Benares.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 19th November 1781.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 12th instant.

Read the following letter from the Governor-General:—

The Governor-General, 5th November 1781.

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., &c., and Council.

GENTLEMEN,—I lose no time in informing you that I have this day after much difficulty concluded the settlement of this zemindarry for the fixed and perpetual annual jumma of 40 lacks of rupees payable in monthly instalments of 2,92,727-4-61 for each of the first eleven months of the year, and 8 lacks for the last or the month of Bhaudon, with a remission of 6,66,666-8, being the amount of two months' collections estimated in equal divisions for the current year.

I will prepare and forward to you, with all possible expedition, copies and translations of all the papers relating to this transaction .

I have the honor to be, &c,

WARREN HASTINGS.

BENARES,
The 5th November 1781.

Secret Dept.

Monday.

Fort William, the 3rd December 1781.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQUIRE.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQUIRE.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 22nd ultimo.

Resolved that the following reply be written to the Governor-General:—

To the Governor-General.

SIR,—We have received your letter of the 21st of November, with the 13 different enclosures and authenticated vouchers, on which you have very fully explained in detail your final settlement of the Province and revenues of Benares.

We had the honor of receiving some time before your letter of the 1st of November, in which you communicated for our approbation your establishment of a native police with the necessary regulation, for the protection of the religious and civil interests of the inhabitants and visitors of the City of Benares.

Though you have very properly confined the communication of those respective arrangements to separate despatches, it is with the sincerest pleasure that we find, upon the most attentive perusal of them, that we are justified in confirming your arrangements under one united head of approbation.

Distressed as we are in our finances, it was neither for the honor nor the interest of the Company to raise the jumma of that zemindary beyond 40 lacks, the sum which you have stipulated. Having reserved the military command of the province exclusively to the Company's troops, there can be no danger of a second convulsion; and the rentership and jagheers which you have bestowed upon those Hindus who proved their attachment to us in the late troubles will serve to strengthen our system by holding forth our justice and gratitude as a Government.

At this distance, and unacquainted as we are with the scheme of your revenue establishment and dispositions of the principal inhabitants, we depend implicitly upon the labor and impartiality with which you evidently have investigated this important concern. Had we been ever upon the spot we could have given you but little assistance: the difficulties in which you were so critically involved during the troubles of the province, and your personal influence and assiduity, with your knowledge of the language, gave you the most decided advantages to ascertain the state of the country, the merits and rights of its principal inhabitants, and finally to establish the Administration best adapted to the prosperity of the people and the stability of our control.

If there are any points of your adjustments in the revenue which we would wish to discuss particularly, we shall leave them till your return, when you

can satisfy us in every respect. Upon the subject of your establishment of a native police in the City of Benares, with the very meritorious protection which you have secured to all Indians for the free indulgence of their religious institutions in that capital, sacred to them in every respect, we can speak with decided conviction. The object reflects honor upon your country, the execution upon yourself. We observe with extreme satisfaction the infinite pains you have taken upon this subject. We cannot suggest a possible improvement upon the regulations of the police. You seem to have been anxious to form it upon the grounds of an independence of the Raja and even of the influence of the Resident. From this just caution the decided power is lodged in the Chief Magistrate and ultimately in a summary degree. The universal good character of Ally Ibrahim Cawn, whom you have placed at its head, justifies every confidence in him. But though the speedy execution of justice at a distance from the seat of Government is found in most countries a necessary check upon the perversion of court influence, we should be apt to suspect that the powers of Ally Ibrahim Cawn may hereafter fall into hands that may abuse their temporary independence. Yet we confess ourselves unable to draw the line between the efficient power necessary to command the peace in this country even by its supposed terrors and the power that is restricted from immediate abuse and yet should be effectual.

We regret that the incapacity of the more dignified characters of the Gentoo religion to conduct the management of such a trust prevented you and must ever do so from promoting them to this high office. If at the same time it should be understood and published that a complaint from the higher institutions of the Gentoo religion would always be considered by this Government as a sufficient warrant for the removal and trial of this officer, the difficulty might be accommodated. But we only venture to hazard the idea.

Your guarded attention to the security and convenience of the pilgrims, and your abolition of those taxes and embarrassments which have grown against them from the rapacity of a corrupt Government, are peculiarly to your credit.

Indeed, when we reflect upon the progress which our arms have made in this distant country, and when we think of that noble tolerating principle of our nation which glories in indulging religions with civil liberty, we cannot but consider the most humane and delicate respect for religious institutions of the nations we have subdued as a justice which we owe to them, and in the performance of which the legislators must ever feel the most valuable reward.

Even in a political view your arrangements upon the subject are interesting, and may lead to the most important consequences. All Indostan from the source of the Ganges to Cape Comorin is interested in the happy regulation of the police of Benares, and the unpolluted tranquillity of its colleges. The leading Mahrattas with whom we are at war are strongly attached to this supposed residence of the purity of their religion.

From these considerations we beg leave to suggest to you whether it would not be proper to publish in the different languages of India the regulations you have adopted. A very short time will spread them over all Indostan, which, with the reports of the pilgrims upon their return, cannot but impress the natives with the mild liberality and attention of our Government.

Even among the different nations of Europe whose learned enquiries have been of late particularly directed to the religious antiquities and early knowledge of the sciences in this country, it will be matter of satisfaction and admiration and of consequent credit to our Government that Benares, in which you were so dangerously exposed, should remain so deeply indebted to your careful regulation and protection. Upon our part we shall only claim the merit of not being indifferent to so great an object in its liberal as well as political light, and we shall heartily accede to any measures which you may think proper to adopt to improve or strengthen your regulations.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 3rd December 1781.

Secret Dept.,
Monday.

Fort William, the 10th December 1781.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIETENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

Read the following letter from the Governor-General:—

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to transmit to you copies of my instructions severally to Mr. Anderson and Mr. Chapman, the former deputed to Maharaja Scindia and the latter to Nagpore. Both are so consonant to your wishes and to the commands of our honorable superiors, that they will need no comment or explanation unless it shall appear that the mission of Mr. Chapman is rather ostensible than real, little being given him in charge, but to preserve the friendship unimpaired between the Government to which he is deputed and ours. In effect the advantages proposed by it are rather contingent than such as could be prescribed as determined objects. An attention was necessary to an ancient and approved friendship of our Government on the occasion of our availing ourselves of a different influence. I have judged it necessary to provide for a new channel of correspondence with that Government itself having lost that on which I have hitherto place a confident effectual reliance in the Dewan Dewanger Pundit. But my principal hopes from this deputation is that it may prove the means of quickening the conclusion of the peace with the Mahratta State by making it an object of competition to two most powerful members of it. I have no doubt that either the Raja will endeavor to counteract our endeavours to obtain a peace, that we may ultimately have recourse to him for effecting it, or that he will himself precipitate it if he sees it likely to be accomplished by another, that he may have the sole merit of it, and preserve his consequence with both parties by having been the successful mediator between us. You will observe that I have sufficiently guarded Mr. Chapman's instructions against the possibility of their clashing with Mr. Anderson's. I am certain that Mr. Chapman will think it no degradation to act under the control of Mr. Anderson, for whose abilities he entertains a very high and deserved respect.

Mr. Anderson left Benares to proceed on his deputation on the 5th of this month and Mr. Chapman on the 17th. The former, accompanied by his brother, Lieutenant Anderson, whom I appointed his assistant, granting him the allowance usually annexed to such officer, and by Tuffuzzul Hoosain Cawn, a native of the first abilities in Hindostan, who had been employed by me under Major Palmer during his deputation to the Rana of Ghode, and had rendered material services to our Government, and who I knew would be very useful to Mr. Anderson in his negotiations from the character which he bears throughout the country for his integrity and knowledge. His salary I fixed at a thousand rupees per month. Mr. Chapman is accompanied by Mr. John White, whom I have appointed an assistant with the same allowance as that given to Lieutenant Anderson, and as the service on which he is employed is merely temporary, I should hope that the offices which he holds in Calcutta will not be considered as vacated by this appointment. Mr. Anderson is authorized by me to draw the same allowances that were given to Colonel Upton when appointed to the Court of Poona, and Mr. Chapman the same that are given to Mr. Anderson.

I request the Board will be pleased to communicate to Mr. Anderson any orders which they have lately sent or may hereafter send to Brigadier-General Goddard, which may be necessary for his information, or any instructions given our Resident at the Court of Hyderabad respecting the Nizam's mediation of peace between us and the Mahrattas, that the whole subject may be completely before him.

Colonel Muir having been unable yet to furnish me with the particulars of the late negotiation with Mahadajee Scindia by reason, as his last letters mention, of the dangerous and continued sickness of Captain Ford, to whom he had committed the execution of that business; and having transmitted to me the Persian copy of the treaty, I have the honor to forward the same for your present information.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant.

WARREN HASTINGS.

CHUNARGUR,
The 20th November 1781.

To MR. DAVID ANDERSON.

SIR,—Having already delegated to you by a formal commission the full powers and authority vested in me by the Governor-General and Council, for the purpose of negotiating and finally concluding a treaty of peace and alliance between the Company and the Mahratta State, and reposing the firmest reliance on your abilities and integrity, I recommend to your attentive consideration and observance the following instructions for the easier and more effectual attainment of the great object of your deputation and other purposes dependent upon or connected with it.

The peace lately concluded between our Government and Mahadajee Scindia opens a fair prospect for the success of your mission by the offer which that Chief has made to interpose his friendly offices at Poona for an equitable accommodation. The great credit and influence which Scindia possesses in the Mahratta State leaves no room for apprehension that his endeavors will prove ineffectual if he exerts them sincerely and heartily.

It is therefore with a view to dispose him more strongly to our interests, that I desire you to repair to him, to give him the strongest assurances of my personal esteem and friendship, and of my desire to cultivate and improve the connection which has lately been formed between us. The most effectual means of accomplishing these purposes would be a personal interview between Scindia and myself, and I desire that you will endeavor to draw from him his sentiments concerning it, and advise it if you find him disposed to it, but do not abruptly or formally demand it.

Should he be equally inclined to meet me, you may propose Allahabad or Cawnpore as the rendezvous, but if neither of those places should suit his convenience, I will go to Etawa or any other place on the banks of the Jumna that you may judge my time will admit of.

If Scindia should either decline an interview altogether, or not afford you a proper encouragement to recommend it, it must then rest entirely with you to effect my views which are as follows:—

First obtain through the mediation of Scindia and in concert with his agents, if he shall think proper to depute one for the purpose, a treaty of peace and alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Peishwa against all common enemies, but especially against Hyder Ali Cawn, or of peace simply on the condition of restoring all that we have acquired during the war except Ahmadabad and the territory conquered for Futty Sing Gaekwar.

We cannot totally abandon the interests of Raghonath Row; endeavour to obtain for him an adequate provision on the conditions prescribed in General Goddard's instructions.

You may consent to yield what is ours, and what we can in honor grant, but we will never suffer our treaties to be infringed nor our faith to be violated; you will of course be attentive to any engagements subsisting between us and other powers in settling the terms of peace and alliance with the Mahrattas. I except from this precaution the Rana of Gohud, who has been guilty of the most flagrant breach of faith towards us in every instance after a most faithful and scrupulous performance of every stipulation in his favor by us, and after we have saved him and his country from certain destruction. Leave him to settle his own affairs with the Mahrattas. Colonel Muir will give you complete intelligence concerning the Rana's condnot, and from this you will judge whether he is worthy of being any longer considered as our ally.

Reserve Bassim if you can, over though it should be with the concession of restoring all the lands obtained by the treaty with Colonel Upton except Salsett and other ceded islands and the ceded moiety of Broach. But do not insist on the reservation of Bassim to the hindrance of peace.

We want nothing from the Mahrattas but their alliance against Hyder Ali Cawn, and that we dispense with as the effect of a positive engagement to which they cannot perhaps in decency agree, although they may be desirous of availing themselves of any pretext which may lead to it without a direct breach of the public faith. Be careful that your engagements do not contain anything hostile to the Government of Berar or hurtful to our connection with it.

Include Futty Sing Gaekwar in the peace according to the treaty concluded with him of which you have a copy.

Obtain the exclusion of the French and all other European nations from the alliance and from the ports and dominions of the Mahrattas.

It must be a principal object of your attention to prevail upon the Mahratta Government to invade the dominions of Hyder Ali Cawn. They will not enter into public engagements for that purpose as they are at present in alliance with him, but pretexts will not be wanting when they shall perceive the facility of making conquests upon him. Endeavor to interest Scindia in all these views with the administration at Poona, and to engage him separately or with Tukojee Holkar into close connections with our Government by the prospects of mutual advantage. I leave a large latitude in this instruction to your discretion. You know my views, which are for present peace and future security. Pursue and agree to whatever may promote these views; reject and shew whatever may obstruct them, and especially such as may draw us into a new scene of hostilities.

Wait upon Colonel Muir in his camp at Etawa before you proceed to Scindia, and obtain from him every information and advice which can be useful in your negotiations with that Chief.

Since your departure, Raja Moodajee Boosla has requested that a gentleman in my confidence might attend him as the Agent of our Government at his Court, and I have given this commission to Mr. Chapman: I send you a copy of his instructions. You will furnish him with such communications and orders from time to time as you may judge will tend to promote the success of your negotiations.

I am, Sir, &c.,

BENARES,
The 4th November 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

To MR. CHARLES CHAPMAN.

SIR,—The Raja of Berar having expressed a desire that an English gentleman in my confidence may be sent to his Court, I have thought proper

to comply with his request and depute you thereto accordingly; your credentials are enclosed.

You are to consider the first objects of your commission to be to strengthen and increase the friendship and alliance virtually subsisting between the Company and the Berar Government. You will be furnished by the Secretary at the Presidency with copies of all the papers that are material to your information, respecting the relation in which the two Governments stand to one another, and the Persian translator has orders to give you copies of such parts of the correspondence between them as you may require. Should any circumstances occur that may present a favorable opportunity to the Raja to act offensively against Hyder Ali, and he or his Ministers should shew a disposition to employ the Berar forces in doing so, you will encourage it and acquaint the Board with any reasonable conditions on which such aid may be proffered.

The indecisive conduct of the Berar Government subsequent to its offer of mediation and guarantee of a peace between the Company and Mahratta State having thrown the credit and honor of such interference into other channels, you can now only accept of the assistance which the Raja's influence as a member of the Mahratta State may enable him to afford for effecting a speedy termination of the war, unless the other members of the Mahratta State should require or approve his guarantee, of which you will be advised by Mr. Anderson, and in this, and on every other occasion which may result from his negotiations, you will act conformably to his advice and requisition.

Should the Raja, as he declares his intention to be, pay a visit to Poona and invite you to accompany him, you will comply with his desire; but as Mr. Anderson has been deputed by this Government with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace with the Mahratta State, you are on no account to enter upon any negotiation but at his express requisition, and you are in every prospect to consider yourself as subordinate to him, and to promote the object which he has been appointed to accomplish.

In this qualification of your powers I know that I conform to your own wishes, but should any unforeseen accident happen to Mr. Anderson that will prevent him from being present at an assembly of the efficient members of the Mahratta State or otherwise acting on orders given him, and he shall write to you to that effect and you yourself be on the spot, and find them disposed to accommodate their disputes with the Company, the powers entrusted to Mr. Anderson are in such cases to devolve on you, and you will act in conformity to his instructions, a copy of which is given to you enclosed, and to such further instructions as he shall give you. Mr. John White is appointed your assistant in this deputation, and he and yourself are authorized to draw the first allowances usually given to persons employed in your respective capacities.

I am, &c.,

BENARES,
The 12th November 1781.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 636 F. D.—11-4-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 2nd January to 18th February 1782.

Fort William, the 2nd January 1782.

Secret Dept., Wednesday.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

SIR EYRE COOTE, *absent on service at Fort Saint George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 26th ultimo.

Read the following letter from SIR EYRE COOTE.

To

The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., Governor-General, &c., and Supreme Council Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—I have been honored with the receipt of your letters of the 11th and 22nd ultimo, the former enclosing me a detail of the Governor-General's transactions at Benares on the occasion of the rebellious conduct of Raja Chait Sing, which happened soon after the Governor-General's arrival at that place.

It affords me much satisfaction to be informed from such good authority that affairs in that quarter are in so favorable a train, and that an event which seemed to threaten the peace of the whole of the Company's internal possessions promises to terminate without materially injuring their general tranquillity. For the future security, and preservation of which (as thereon depends the very vitals of our existence), I trust that no measure which can tend to so desirable an end will be left unadopted.

On the junction of Colonel Pearse's detachment, the arrangements I made for the duties of the army in prosecuting the service on which it was employed having necessarily annulled the distinct authority over the Bengal troops until then exercised by Colonel Pearse, the following staff belonging thereto ceased to act, *viz.*, Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, Deputy Quartermaster-General, Field Engineer, Surveyor, Aide-de-Camp, Persian Interpreter, Secretary, Commissary of Provisions, Deputy Commissary of Provisions, Brigade Master, Commissary of Ordnance. But as the whole outfit, military arrangement and disbursement for that detachment were established by the Council at large, and no reservation made for their undergoing any alteration which even after a junction I might see necessary, I persuade myself that it will be on every account most agreeable my leaving it to themselves to abolish or otherwise retrench all expenses which may now appear superfluous.

I duly notice the resolution you have come to of consigning in future your supplies of treasure for the use of the Bengal and Madras troops to the Right Honorable the President and Council of Fort St. George, under whose management I doubt not they will be applied as they hitherto have been under my direction wholly to the services of the war, in which I will venture to say it will appear from the accounts every possible economy has been observed.

The agent appointed to receive the supplies of treasure, which were consigned to me, informs me that he charged a commission of one per cent only, on the sums which he disbursed for the use of the Coast troops with an equal degree

of attention and almost as much trouble as he issues the pay, &c., to the Bengal detachments, for which you allow him one and a half per cent, and he further assures me that after defraying his extra expenses as agent, in which he includes interest paid upon money that he borrowed by my order to supply the Madras Pay Master with, while the treasure was coining, the charge he has made is little more than adequate to the expenses incurred.

Although I have not a doubt but that the Government here have been attentive to my request of sending you constant and regular information of the progress and occurrences of the campaign, I shall just mention to you, in as concise a manner as the subject will allow, of what has been effected since the battle of Sholingar.

I have relieved Vellore, taken Chittoor, and afterwards fell back to the relief of Tripasur, which a large body of the enemy under Tippoo Saib and Monsieur Lally took the advantage of my absence on the two above mentioned services to besiege. They had effected a practicable breach, but on hearing of my approach moved off with precipitation, but not without having suffered very severely by the brave and spirited behaviour of the garrison. The Forts of Sattavere and Kirkarambarry have been evacuated, and the Fort Chundergury, which, on account of its natural strength, could never, but for the shameful and dastardly conduct of the Nabob's brother, Abdul Waheb Cawn, fallen into the enemy's possession, capitulated to a party of the Nabob's troops which invested it in great security, the position of my army being such as to prevent every possibility of the enemy's relieving it. In these three forts garrisons have been placed by the Nabob.

In advancing towards the relief of Vellore as Hyder was encamped with his whole force at Lallapet, about 16 miles from Arcot, on the north side of the Paten, and as neither the distressed situation of Vellore, nor the object of my march could be unknown to him, I laid my account with meeting opposition, but he declined the opportunity by crossing the river and falling back between Timmery and Arni, where he encamped. This is to me a very strong proof and tacit acknowledgment of his inability any longer to contend the point with the main army, and authorise a belief that he will never risk another battle, unless strongly reinforced by his European allies. I need hardly tell you how rejoiced I should have been to have had it in my power to have improved the advantage arising from this obvious testimony of his own weakness by pursuing him, but alas! the same obstacle, a want of provision which has so cruelly impeded my operations in the whole course of the campaign was a check to all my desires upon this occasion. I was obliged to content myself with prosecuting my march to Vellore, in the course of which I gave a party of the enemy's horse a very complete alert, in which about fifty horses were taken and about a hundred men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, and not a man hurt on our side.

At the time of my arrival at Vellore, there was not above five days' provisions remaining in the garrison, which at the expiration thereof must either have been abandoned or given up to the enemy. And notwithstanding the army was itself in great distress for provisions, after drawing out a grenadier company of Europeans, I spared from the small stock, which had been collected with the utmost difficulty and labour, enough for its support for thirty-six days. Immediately this was done and other necessary arrangements made in the fort which obliged my halting a day, I fell back to Chittoor in search of subsistence, and having laid siege to the fort, it surrendered on the 10th instant after an obstinate defence, and after we had effected a practicable breach, and the orders for storming had been issued. The quantity of grain found in the fort fell greatly short of what was reported, the whole not having proved equal to four days' rice for the fighting men of the army.

I was unavoidably detained at this place three or four days in order to repair the breach, and to strengthen in the best manner possible such part of the fort as stood in need of it. Whilst thus employed Hyder suddenly recrossed the river and pushed a strong detachment into the Polins and attacked a battalion which I had left, together with three field pieces, to protect the sick and baggage of the army, which I was obliged to leave behind near Pollipet

when I proceeded to the relief of Vellore, as well as to collect grain for our use. The enemy greatly outnumbering our battalion in every respect, I was obliged after standing a short cannonade to retreat into the hills, leaving the guns behind which they spiked. The consequence was they fell into the hands of the enemy together with some sick and the greatest part of the baggage. At this time the small Fort of Polloor, which I took in September, being without provisions, and a large detachment of the enemy having encamped near, apparently with an intention of attacking it, the officer in command was obliged to abandon it, which he did in the night and escaped in safety with his garrison to the hills; that place has of course again fallen into the enemy's hands, and I fear likewise four iron eighteen-pounders, which the officer probably may not have had time to obey my orders in destroying, and which want of a sufficiency of bullocks obliged me to leave there when I proceeded to engage the enemy of Sholingar. These operations, directed as they have been against small parties, whilst they cannot fail of distressing us, I think lend strongly to mark the line which Hyder has laid down for his future conduct in carrying on the war, and which from his immense numbers, both cavalry and infantry, added to the certain and speedy intelligence he has of our motions by means of his horse, he may prosecute not only with impunity but with hopes of success.

Ever since leaving the Presidency last, which was on the 16th September, until the 23rd instant, when I returned to Tripasur, I have not drawn a grain of rice from it, but by the most preserving labor and industry have found subsistence for the army in the country, but not, however, without experiencing the most trying difficulties, in creating of which the acts of the Nabob's government have had a principal share. So highly detrimental have they shewn themselves that I hesitate not to declare in this place the same opinion, which I have repeatedly expressed in my correspondence with the Government here, which is, that unless some effectual measures are taken to remove those inconveniences naturally arising from the exercise of a double authority during the war, it will be impossible to carry on the service, and the consequences must prove equally fatal to the Company and the Nabob. For the occurrences upon which this opinion is founded, I must beg leave to refer to the Proceedings of the Select Committee, which I understand are intended to be forwarded to you from hence in a few days, and wherein everything appears in full length.

Such was the distress to which the army was reduced for provisions that in the march from Chittoor to the relief of Tripasur, one-half was three successive days alternately without rice. The followers of the army from the last time of their leaving Madras until they came back to Tripasur had but two seers of paddy served out to them. Numbers have died by hunger and the inclemency of the weather, from which causes in the course of two marches we lost nearly a hundred cavalry, likewise bullocks, elephants, and camels, both public and private. In short the scene exhibited was more like a field of battle than a line of march.

Whilst the position and movements of my army kept Hyder's main force in check, several advantages have been gained by our troops to the southward, amongst which the most important has been the capture of Negapatam, which surrendered on the 12th instant to Sir Edward Hughes and the troops under General Munro, on which event permit me to offer you my most hearty congratulations.

The public are principally indebted for this acquisition to the unwearied application and perseverance of the *Admiral*, and to the powerful aid he afforded by landing so formidable a body of seamen and marines, whose brave, active, and spirited behaviour gave life to every operation.

Hyder has of late greatly strengthened Arcot, has in it a very formidable garrison, plenty of military stores, and a most ample magazine of provisions, equal by all accounts to the subsistence of his army for some months. It is not therefore to be wondered at, but that whenever this army can be equipped for proceeding to this important service, it will be obstinately defended and prove a very difficult conquest. The only circumstance which can possibly facilitate the undertaking would be a powerful diversion in Hyder's country,

and which I hope may yet be brought about before it is too late by an accommodation with the Mahrattas, or such an alliance with the Nizam as will produce a junction of forces with that Prince.

Hyder, by the latest intelligence, was with his main army in and about Arcot. Report says that he has some intentions of pushing a strong detachment to the southward.

It is impossible to describe the distress to which the army was reduced in every particular. The officers in general without any of those comforts so necessary for the support and preservation of their health, many are without a tent to cover them, or a shirt to put on their backs, and what is still more to be regretted without money, or by what I can learn of the present state of our finances here, any probable prospect of getting a sufficiency to refit themselves with. The arrears now due to the Coast troops serving with the army, exclusive of the Bengal, are nearly four lakhs of pagodas. These circumstances added to the setting in of the monsoon, and the impossibility of procuring even a day's subsistence for the army anywhere but at Madras without exposing it to the most imminent danger, rendered it being cantoned for a few weeks absolutely necessary.

With respect to myself my state of health is so bad that for these 16 days past I have been in a manner confined to my bed, and such is the nature of my indisposition, and so much is my constitution impaired by the fatigues and anxieties which I have undergone in one of the severest campaigns I have ever served now about 13 months, that I have little hopes given me of recovery but by a retirement from business. It is my intention therefore to embrace the first favourable opportunity of returning to Bengal for the re-establishment of my health.

FORT WILLIAM, } I have, &c,
The 29th November 1781. } (Sd.) EYRE COOTE.

MR. DAVID ANDERSON.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 6th, with its enclosure, being Mahadajee Scindia's reply to mine. I have also received from Colonel Muir copies of Scindia's letters, and of other persons in his confidence, to Colonel Muir, which express the same reluctance to admit your deputation until he shall be authorized by the answers of his letters written to Poona for that purpose, and his design of writing to me concerning the reception which he has given to Chait Sing. I can account for his conduct in both instances without imputing it to any design of departing from his engagements, since if such were his disposition he has suffered the season to pass and every delay is an advantage on our part and a loss to him.

The fear of committing himself too far in an avowed separation of interests from the State to which he owes his obedience and service may be the cause of his hesitation in the first instance, and the allurements of Chait Sing's treasures his motives in the other. Conformably to this construction of his policy, I have written the enclosed letter to him, and have added a copy of it for your information, If he is sincere it will afford him a fair plea for inviting you to proceed. If he still persists in declining your visit, your waiting longer for his permission or leisure will have an unbecoming appearance, and may encourage him to form hostile design against us from the presumption of our weakness implied by it, neither can I suffer you to appear as the representative of the English nation at his Court while Chait Sing is allowed to appear there.

It is therefore my positive order that if Mahadajee Scindia shall decline to receive your deputation after the explanation which I have given him of its objects, or shall retain Chait Sing in his camp, or otherwise give him ostensible protection, you do instantly on receipt of his answers, should these not prove fully satisfactory on both these points return to me, and your commission is from that instant void, unless he shall change his purpose and recall you with the reservation of Chait Sing's dismission, before you shall have

passed the Carrumnassa, in which case you may return and proceed to him; and with that view I wish you to make as little expedition as you chuse in your journey this way.

I have written to Colonel Muir to keep his detachment in order for instant service, and to Colonel Morgan to be in readiness to support or co-operate with him if it shall be necessary, and for these purposes to suspend the orders for the reductions which are to take place conformably to the late arrangements, with which you are well acquainted, until you shall advise them that you are satisfied of Mahadajee Scindia's attachment to his engagements; whenever therefore you shall receive such assurances from Mahadajee Scindia as shall induce you to prosecute your original deputation to him, you will give them the notice above prescribed.

I desire that you will open his letters addressed to me, and act according to the tenor of them applied to the foregoing instructions.

BENARES,
The 12th December 1781.

I am, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Fort William, the 14th January 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Northern Provinces.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, Kt. B., *absent on command at the Presidency of Fort Saint George.*

Read and approved of the Proceedings of the 2nd instant.

Read a letter as follows from Mr. Holland:—

To

EDWARD WHELER, Esq., &c., &c., &c., and Council, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—I have now the honor to send you the narrative, which I promised in my letter dated the eighteenth October, of the transactions and events which passed during the course of the late insurrection of this Province. I had begun it at the time of the date which I have prefixed to it, but the busy scenes which followed, both while I was at Chunar and after my return to Benares, hindered me from prosecuting it till a few days before the date which I have subjoined to it. I did not chuse to alter the introduction, although written at such a distance of time from that in which the body of the work was executed, and even from the existence of the events which are recorded in the latter, because I found it not easy to give it a new form without a total omission of what had been already produced while my mind was animated by the recent and actual scenes in which it was engaged to an anxious and most feeling solicitude, not more for the issue of the impending contest than for its consequences on my own reputation.

In the consciousness of the rectitude of my own intentions I had allowed myself to use an appeal the most solemn and the most sacred that could bind my relation to truth, or impress the conviction of it on the hearts of others, nor could I, consistently with my own sense of its obligation, withdraw it, or coldly place it after the narrative already written, and written under the check which I had imposed upon it. I know not whether I shall be clearly understood. If I am not, yet let this endeavor to explain a seeming impropriety in the construction of this performance be accepted for its apology.

I have only to add my hope that as I have received the most cordial support in the past events from you, my respectable and most respected associates in the Administration, and as it has been my unvaried study to prevent your suffering any embarrassment from them, my conduct in them may also receive its first reward in the testimony of your approbation.

BENARES,
The 31st December 1781.

I have, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

On the 31st ordered that the narrative enclosed in this letter be entered in a separate book to be kept with the records of Council, and that copies thereof be immediately prepared to be dispatched to the Court of Directors.

Resolved that the *Nancy Snow*, instead of proceeding to China according to her present destination, be victualled and prepared as soon as possible for carrying a packet to England, and resolved that the Governor-General's narrative be transmitted to the Company by this vessel.

Minute.

The Board having already passed their opinion in terms of the fullest approbation upon the Governor-General's conduct and management in the suppression of the rebellion of Chait Sing, and the regulation of the Province and City of Benares, they think it unnecessary to repeat their opinion of those measures.

They cannot at the same time but remark that the explanations which the Governor-General has given in some parts of his proceedings during his first discussions with Chait Sing, and subsequent to the convulsion, are rather an open avowal of the motives that actuated his mind, than the guarded representations of a public officer stating to his employers the measures which an extraordinary situation influenced, dictated, and justified.

To a liberal and candid tribunal such was the natural and certainly the wisest appeal. The generosity and justice of a British tribunal looks more to the real motives and zeal of their Agent than to the preconcerted artifice of his conduct, or the legal discriminations of his defence: even where a public measure is unsuccessful the responsibility risqued by the Agent, if risqued upon public principles, is frequently his justification, and in many cases entitles him to applause.

In these distant dominions if the ruling servants of the State attend more to those rules and forms which protect from responsibility than to an ardent pursuit of the public interest under every private risque, the hands of administration may secure themselves against condemnation even though the country should be lost through their mismanagement.

It was not by avoiding personal responsibility that the servants of the public established the British influence in Asia, nor is it by such cold precautions that our power is to be maintained especially at an hour of general hostility against us. The Board are led into these observations from an ingenuous consideration of the difficulties which the Governor-General found himself involved at Benares, and a conviction of the motives under which he acted. The first were surmounted with ability and fortitude. The latter they most sincerely believe do him real honor.

Easy would be the task to approve the suppression of the rebellion and to stand disconnected with any responsibility, by justifying those acts which certainly precipitated the storm from the cloud in which it had gathered, acts which judges at a distance, judges unoppressed with the actual embarrassments of this Government, may with great speciousness of argument condemn. But the Board wish not, they cannot permit themselves to proceed so disingenuously

or guardedly. They are at the same time aware that in a rigid investigation of the whole of this business, the following questions will be asked—

Firstly.—Where were the Governor-General's particular instructions for such extraordinary demands upon Chait Sing?

Secondly.—Why was that Chief put in arrest when he offered to make every concession?

Thirdly.—Whether there was not a compact between him and the Company which specified that he was only to pay them a certain annual tribute?

Subsequent to the massacre of our troops and the events that followed no questions will be asked.

In answer to the first question the Board think the Governor-General was fully authorized by the general tenor of his instructions.

The Governor-General having a deciding vote could have written out and approved more particular instructions. There was a delicacy in the mode he preferred and it imposed a greater responsibility.

See Mr. Wheler's attestation.

In regard to the second question it is evident from Chait Sing's answers and preparations, and the whole tenor of his conduct before and at the time, that nothing but arrest could have convinced him of the Governor-General's determination.

That the arrest was not intended to proceed further than the payment of a proper fine to the Company, who stood in the place of his sovereigns and benefactors, is evinced by the Governor-General's answer to Chait Sing after his confinement.

Had a total revolution in the administration of the zemindary been intended, the arrest must have been effected with more force and greater marks of severity.

That the officers who went to execute this service were convinced that no measure of determined severity was intended against Chait Sing appears from that unfortunate want of precaution which cost them and their followers their lives.

The third question involves much argument, yet it is fully answered by that part of the Governor-General's narrative which discusses the sunnud under which Chait Sing ruled the province, and which was so liberally granted by the Company. The correspondence with the India States shews already their ideas of the rights of zemindars and rajas protected in their zemindaries by a superior power. Had Chait Sing been an ally sovereign prince who payed only a fixed subsidy, his military preparations and his insiduous conduct under pretences of poverty in disappointing the expectations of the Government from the army under Major Camac justified, together with his correspondence with our enemies, the severest exaction of aid to assist the Company in their distresses and atone for his ingratitude and treachery to a power who protected him and to whom he owed this situation.

On the subject of the treaty concluded on the eighteenth of September last between the Governor-General and Nabob Vizier, and which the difficulties of the communication prevented the Governor-General from explaining so fully before, the Board have to observe that the treaty is evidently a political expedient, which forfeits no advantage, which promises the acquisition of money, and which properly managed by this Government (as events favorable or even unfavorable arise) may lead to the final and complete arrangement of an alliance with the Vizier. Such an alliance being less oppressive to him may be more advantageous and honorable to the Company, and may remove that too general but dangerous impression which the different States of this country have received from the double character in which we have hitherto appeared in India, that of allies and conquerors.

If the Nabob Vizier should not be able under the support of the troops of this Government stationed at Cawnpore to maintain the tranquillity of his

dominions, and collect those resources which are necessary to defray even his reduced expences and discharge his heavy debt to the Company, a new arrangement must follow, and that arrangement, necessarily at the express request of the Vizier, will secure every advantage that can be wished or expected from his provinces by this Government.

The reduction of that heavy burthen of expence, which was at once oppressive to the Vizier and of no return to the Company, though a source of patronage to this Administration, the Board approve of most heartily; and with a full sense of the credit which a measure of such difficulty and unpleasantness reflects upon the Governor-General, they take this occasion of pledging to him and to their employers, their utmost support not only in this but in every other branch of public economical reformation which he may propose.

Upon the return of the Governor-General the Board resolve to discuss with him those parts of the treaty which carry the appearance of a hasty agreement. The disaffection of many of the Vizier's principal jaghirdars and the steps which, from the representations of Colonel Hannay and other officers appear to have been rapidly taken by the Begums to support the rebellion of Chait Sing, were probably very early known to the Governor-General, and through the medium of all the suspicions that the situation at the time he met the Vizier had naturally created.

At such a moment and under such suspicions, and even while the issue of the contest of Chait Sing was depending, it is not surprising that some parts of the agreement between the Governor-General and the Vizier were speedily adjusted, and as the Governor acknowledges in conversation at their first interview.

A short time will satisfy the Board whether the Vizier is willing or able to fulfil his part of the treaty. If he is, and that the Company can recover their debt from him in the present emergency and distress of their affairs, the Board cannot then but agree that the Governor-General has acted in the arrangement not only with zeal and the best public intentions, but with a masterly decision that must entitle him to the grateful and complete approbation of his employers.

It remains with the Board to concert with the Governor-General upon his return those measures that may secure this Government from any future inconveniences or distress that can be supposed connected with the confidence reposed in the Vizier for the administration of the affairs of his revenue and military establishments.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 5th February 1782.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, who being returned to the Presidency, takes his seat at the Board.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.

SIR EYRE COOTE, *on service in the Carnatic.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 24th ultimo.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute in consequence of that of the Board entered on the proceedings of the 14th ultimo.

The Governor-General acknowledges his obligations to the Board for the repeated instances of the liberal manner in which they have been pleased to

record their judgment on his conduct. Had it been expressed in simple terms of official approbation, he should have been pleased and satisfied that it had received so respectable a sanction, but by tracing the sources of it in the motives which he has avowed by their examination of those motives with their relative facts and circumstances, and by the doubts which they have anticipated and solved on the propriety of such parts of his conduct as might most obviously suggest them, they have justified their own approval, and entitle him to expect the same favorable sentiments in their common superiors.

Nor is he less pleased with the reserve with which the Board have declared their satisfaction in the arrangements concluded by him with the Nabob Vizier, because he thinks it will be received as an evidence of the deliberation and sincerity of their former approval. He is willing to submit the propriety of the measure to the test of its success. The Resident has already informed the Board that he had received of the treasures of the late Vizier left in the charge of his widow and lately reclaimed by his son, the amount of the bond granted by the latter for the balance of the year 1178, which ends in September 1780 of our era, and was in the actual receipt of as much as would discharge the balance of the last year, that is of the year 1179.

The sum of both is fifty-five lacks of rupees. The Resident seems to have understood this to be the whole of the Nabob's debt. There is a further balance of twenty-six lacks, which appears to have been by some means overlooked or withheld from Mr. Middleton on the transfer of this office from Mr. Purling—a rectified account drawn to the latest period has been transmitted to Mr. Middleton by the Accountant-General, which it is hoped will arrive in time to prevent his stopping at the receipt of the supposed balance, and at all events the profits of the resumed jaghir ought to yield a fund more than sufficient both for the complete liquidation of what may remain of the Nabob's present debt, and to make up the deficiency of the assignments granted on his revenue for the current year, within the course of it.

The Governor-General expects this service from the Resident, and relies upon his fidelity for the performance of it. But in the supposition of the possibility of a disappointment he again offers his personal services to proceed to Lucknow on the first symptom of such a failure; and with the confidence which he feels in his own influence aided by the powerful support of the Board, he will venture to promise that he will not return with their object unaccomplished.

He hopes and believes there will be no necessity for this extremity, but adds it as a ground for the assurance which he ventures to propose, and wishes the Board to give to the Honorable Court of Directors, in the advices to them now under dispatch, that there is the fairest prospect amounting as near to a certainty as can be affirmed of an event yet in expectation that the debt due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, and even that of the Rohilla donation, will be completely paid off in the course of the present year, and a supply added to our ordinary resources, which will fully answer all our own wants for that period and enable us to contribute still further, and we hope effectual, aids to those of the Carnatic.

The Governor-General forbears to include the Presidency of Bombay in this provision. Its expences have already contributed more even than those of the Carnatic to exhaust these provisions of the currency, nor will it be possible for them to support any longer so pernicious a drain. At a certain point it must have a close. For this distress we must seek a remedy in a different expedient in the conclusion of the war with the Mahratta State, and the consequent and most necessary reduction of the armies now employed on that service. In the meantime he trusts that they are not so devoid of resources in themselves as to make them totally dependent for their subsistence on this Government, since they have a large and rich territory acquired by their late conquests in Guzerat, in the dependency of Surat, and as we learn only from an allusive passage in General Goddard's last letters, even in the Concan, of which we were not before apprized. These districts, we are assured by the same authority, were in a state of perfect tranquillity and undisturbed collection of

their revenues, and in the same state they are likely to remain, since in the prospect of a peace the Mahratta Government will naturally look to the restitution of their former possessions, and would eventually be at least equal sufferers with us by any devastations committed on them.

Such are the expectations which the Governor-General wishes to have presented to the Court of Directors of the course and issue of the resources of this Government for the present year. He hopes that credit will be given to them to that degree beyond which it would be presumptuous on any grounds to hazard the promise of contingent events, that if those which he has predicated shall not come to pass the causes of their failure shall be such as shall account for it and acquit him of the reproach of it.

Of the consequences as they may effect him personally he is become indifferent, expecting the forced censures of his avowed enemies, and assured of the applause of his superiors from the internal conviction of his own mind that he has labored to the utmost of his ability to merit it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The following letter from the Governor-General received on the second instant is now recorded.

To

EDWARD WHELER, Esq., &c., &c.,

Supreme Council, &c., &c.

GENTLEMEN,—I left Benares on the 7th of this month. The slow progress which I have made thus far has been occasioned as much by proposed delays as by natural impediments. I am now decided in my journey and compute to be at the Presidency very early in the next month.

Since the suppression of the late revolt of the zemindary of Benares, three distinct objects have engaged my attention and residence in that quarter, not so much for the purpose of executing any determinate measures requiring my presence as for that of being at hand, and ready for any immediate occasion which might eventually demand my personal interposition. These objects are as follows:—

Firstly.—The negotiation with Mahadajee Scindia you are already acquainted, both with my first instructions to Mr. Anderson, and with the subsequent orders which I thought it proper to send to him on the advice of Mahadajee Scindia's having expressed a disinclination to admit Mr. Anderson's deputation until he should be authorised by answers to the letters which he had written to Poona for that purpose, and of his having received Chait Sing into his protection with some apparent marks of encouragement. A few days after I received letters both from Colonel Muir and Mr. Anderson advising me that Mahadajee Scindia had pressingly invited Mr. Anderson to proceed to him, and that he had rejected all the solicitations of Chait Sing. On this occasion I wrote to Mr. Anderson to prosecute his journey and to pay no regard to my former letter, requiring only the removal of Chait Sing from the presence of Mahadajee Scindia while Mr. Anderson was with him: in the meantime that gentleman having conformed to the substance of my first orders had obtained from Mahadajee Scindia a formal assurance that he would neither accept the solicitations of Chait Sing nor assist him in any way whatever, and that he would even prohibit him and his attendants from his Darbar and Cutcherry. Mr. Anderson satisfied with this concession had resolved to proceed to his camp immediately; his last letter upon the subject was private and dated the third instant from Bandere, which was about sixteen coss from Scindia's camp. It contains expressions of much satisfaction and so firm a conviction of the sincerity of that Chief that he was preparing to send the notification directed in my instructions of the twelfth ultimo, to Colonel Morgan and Colonel Muir for the removal of the troops to the stations allotted them by the late arrangements, with a promise that he would soon address me publicly on the same subjects.

I have long since relinquished the design which I first entertained of visiting Scindia myself. And indeed I see so fair and earnest a disposition in him to become the instrument of terminating the war yet subsisting between his principals and our Government, his interest is so evidently connected with it, and I have so well-grounded a confidence in the ability of Mr. Anderson to contribute whatever may be required on his part to forward that issue of the negociations that I doubt whether my interference might not rather impede than promote it, by the loss of time which it would necessarily occasion in transmitting the ultimate proposals to Poona.

Secondly.—The zemindary of Benares. This has hitherto engaged my principal attention. I had just grounds to apprehend that the slightest causes might occasion fresh disturbances in that country from the novelty and weakness of the new Administration, and could not therefore venture to leave it until I had seen that Administration firmly established, and I had formed some experience of the ability of the Naib for conducting it. I have the satisfaction to inform you that his authority is everywhere completely established, and that I have every reason to hope for the full performance of his engagements. The disposition which I have made of the forces allotted for the peace of this zemindary is sufficient to answer with certainty every purpose of internal defence, and at the same time to prove a check on the zemindars of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier which border upon it, this being the most likely scene of new disturbances from the natural turbulency of the Nabob's subjects and their collusion with their neighbours in this zemindary. Copies of these orders with the other military orders which I have thought proper to issue for the distribution of the troops of that station shall be forwarded to you as soon as they can be transcribed after the despatch of this letter.

The new Naib appears to have conducted himself in his office with great diligence and assiduity, and as he possesses a good understanding I have no doubt of his success.

As I found it difficult to accommodate the claims of the several zemindars to whom a promise had been made of restoring to them in consequence of their late attachment the rights which they possessed in the lands from which they were formerly excluded by Raja Chait Sing, with the influence and interest of the present Administration, I have granted to them sunnuds which at the same time established their rights, and entitled them to a malikana or proportion of the revenue to be paid them by the Resident instead of present possession, which I have thought it more prudent to reserve to the Raja. Copies of these sunnuds and of other orders which have been issued to the Resident shall also be transmitted after this letter.

Thirdly.—The engagements concluded on the nineteenth September with the Nabob of Oud. I did hope that on his return to his capital which I had urged for that purpose he would immediately have entered upon the execution of the measures necessary for the accomplishment of the plan which we had mutually agreed upon, and particularly the resumption of the jaghirs—an act equally necessary to the restoration of the peace of his country and to the discharge of his debt to the Company. After having long waited with much impatience for this effect, I was apprised by the Resident's letters that the Nabob, from what cause I know not, had shewn a great reluctance to enter on this business notwithstanding the warmth with which he himself originally solicited my acquiescence in it; that he at length did resolve to carry it into execution and accordingly appointed an aumil to take possession of the sequestered jaghirs, but that a powerful opposition had been prepared by the Begums which had obliged him to apply for the assistance of our troops; and that the Resident had accordingly written to Colonel Morgan to send a regiment of sepoys for that service. As the Resident at the same time expressed to me his opinion that a larger force would be requisite to surmount the intended opposition, I judged it improper to expose a service of such importance either to the hazard of a defeat or to the chance of a delay, and therefore immediately issued orders of which you have already been advised for the march of Colonel Sir John Cumming with his entire detachment for the performance of it, advising the Resident of it. He in reply expressed an apprehension that the Nabob Vizier

would object to the movement of so large a force into the heart of his dominions without what he would deem an adequate occasion for it, and ascribe it to other motives, which might be productive of consequences hurtful to our connection with him, and entreated that the order might be revoked, and assuring me that there was no pressing occasion for it I accordingly ordered it to be suspended. In the meantime as I had conceived some alarm from the delays and difficulties which had attended this business, which did not appear to me of a nature susceptible of them, I wrote to the Resident requesting him solemnly to declare to me whether, with the powers with which he had been invested, he was competent to carry into execution this and the other measures directed in my instructions; that if he were not, I would myself proceed to Lucknow and afford the Nabob my personal assistance for carrying them into execution, but that if in his answer he should assure me that he himself was capable of accomplishing this service I would leave the charge and responsibility of it to him and depart for the Presidency. I wrote a letter to the Nabob in similar terms; I received the Resident's answer on the 2nd January. It contained a declaration that my presence was in no shape necessary in that quarter, and that he was fully competent to undertake and to effect the accomplishment of all the measures required by my instructions, and that he should immediately march with the Nabob to Fyzabad for the purpose of enforcing his claims on the Begums.

On the receipt of this letter, concluding that the Nabob's answer would be to the same effect, and that I should be sufficiently warranted by them to leave the business in their hands, I prepared for my departure, allowing a sufficient time only for the receipt of the Nabob's letter, which I expected at the latest to arrive by the seventh. On that day I left Benares, but proceeded only to a short distance below the town. At the same time I caused an intimation to be given to the Nabob that although to prevent a further loss of time I had thought it proper to begin my journey towards Bengal, yet I should proceed by short stages, and suspend my final resolution until I had received his letter in answer to mine, still retaining the resolution of conforming to the contents of it if these should require me to proceed to his presence according to the tenor of the proffer which I had made to him of my assistance, and that if I did not receive it before my arrival at Patna I would wait for it there. It was not till my arrival at Patna, which was on the nineteenth instant, that I did receive his answer, a translation of which shall accompany this. As it contained only a complimentary invitation, accompanied by an assurance similar to that given me by the Resident in relation to the impending business, I considered it as intended to leave me the free option either to accept of his invitation on the footing on which he had expressed it, or to return to the Presidency. After much hesitation, and I will confess with some reluctance, I have resolved on the latter. I dread the imbecility and irresolution which too much prevail in the Nabob's Councils and must influence in some degree both the conduct of the Resident and the Ministers, and I consider the impending measure of too much consequence to be exposed to the risk of a disappointment; yet the pressing letters which I have written to the Nabob, the strong injunction which I have repeated to the Resident, and the positive assurances which I have received from both, afford me every reason to hope that they will be carried into execution without further difficulty or delay; and I am further confirmed in this conclusion by the subsequent advices which I have received since my departure. These amount to the following substance, that the Nabob Vizier arrived at Fyzabad on the eighth, the Resident accompanying him; that on the twelfth they found it necessary to employ a military force to take possession of the killa, which was effected without any effusion of blood. The two eunuchs, Bahar and Jowaheer Ally Cawn, who were the prime movers of the late troubles and the actual leaders of the present opposition, were taken into custody, and their followers, amounting to between three and four thousand armed men, expelled from the town and dispersed. I think it proper to transmit to you a copy of the Resident's letter and to refer you to it for the particulars of this event.

It may be necessary in this place to inform you that in addition to the former resolution of resuming the Begum's jaghir, the Nabob had declared

his resolution of reclaiming all the treasures of his family which were in their possession, and to which by the Muhammadan laws he was entitled. This resolution I have strenuously encouraged and supported not so much for the reasons assigned by the Nabob as because I think it equally unjust and impolitic that they should be allowed to retain the means of which they have already made so pernicious a use by exciting disturbances in the country and a revolt against the Nabob, their sovereign. I am not too sanguine in my expectations of the result of these proceedings but have required and received the Nabob's promise, that whatever acquisitions shall be obtained from the issue of them it shall be primarily applied to the discharge of the balance actually due from him to the Company.

Notwithstanding the resolution which I have taken to return to the Presidency, I yet foresee that many events may happen which may again require my personal attendance in this quarter, but even these will require that I should first concert with you the plan of my future conduct respecting them, though the powers which I possess are ample and sufficient for every purpose which may occur; yet as they were granted in a very different state of affairs, it is become absolutely necessary that I should avail myself of a free and full communication with you upon every probable contingency which may proceed from the effects of the late change before I can venture again, if it shall be at all necessary, to interfere with my own authority in any of the affairs of this quarter. I have made such a provision for this event, that I shall at any time have it in my power to arrive at Lucknow within at least three weeks from my departure from the Presidency, and there is little cause to apprehend any material change of affairs in the short interval which must necessarily precede my arrival there.

ON THE GANGES NEAR SURAJEGURRA,
The 23rd January 1782.

I have, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., *Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.*

SIR,—I was this day honored with your commands of the 10th instant, informing me of the military station you have established at Juanpoor, with the liberty you grant the Nabob Vizier of claiming their aid to quell any disturbances in the adjacent parts of his provinces. I have accordingly communicated it to His Excellency who with great justice was highly pleased with the disposition, as in truth the districts bordering upon zemindary of Benares have for a long period of time been of all others the most turbulent and disaffected, and nothing less than the arrangement you have now formed could effectually secure the peace and tranquillity in that neighbourhood so essential to the prosperity of the Nabob's government and revenues.

With respect to the business here, I have the honour to inform you that yesterday finding that the temporising and indecisive conduct of the Nabob seemed to promise an issue very different from that expected in your commands of the twenty-sixth of December last, and that the only use the two leading eunuchs under the Bhou Begum made of the delay was to assemble and call in armed men from all quarters, which when united with the large force already in the town under their direction would in all probability have brought the matter to a much more severe and arduous test than it at present could admit of, I found myself necessitated to take the most immediate and decisive interference which the force with me was capable of, and accordingly having the Nabob's written requisition, marched the 23rd Regiment under the command of Major Naylor, with a detachment of His Excellency's own troops, against the killa, and had the happiness to succeed in putting the Nabob's party in possession of it without any effusion of blood, the armed men retiring from it on the approach of our troops and drawing up with their guns in a large broad street before the house of the old Begum, to which the Bhou Begum and her two principal eunuchs had retired the preceding evening. This effected, the Nabob issued his peremptory orders for the immediate depar-

ture of all armed men, excepting his own troops beyond the precincts of the town, threatening them with an instant attack if they disobeyed; this order after many evasions it was promised to be complied with, and the two eunuchs Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn at the same time coming in, and delivering themselves into the Nabob's custody, the armed men, amounting to between three and four thousand, evacuated the town and dispersed. I have since learnt that had the Nabob's troops alone attempted the seizure of the killa, a very desperate resistance was resolved upon, which appeared very probable from the state in which the armed men were found, being the preceding evening furnished with a large store of ammunition and now drawn up in regular order with loaded pieces and their matches lighted, but they were prudent enough to think themselves unequal to the united efforts of His Excellency's troops, supported by an English regiment, and by this conviction much mischief has happily been prevented.

Tomorrow I hope to be able to inform you of the effect of the present advantageous situation, and in the mean time have the honour to remain, with the greatest respect, &c.

FYZABAD,
The 13th January 1782.

A. MIDDLETON,
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 637 F. D.—6-4-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 25th February to 25th March 1782.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 25th February 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on Command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.*

The Proceedings of the 18th instant read and approved.

To

The RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B.,
President and Governor, &c., &c., &c., Select Committee,
Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I am honored with your letter of the 6th instant, and am obliged by the sentiments therein contained respecting your fears and feelings on account of my health, and that it might suffer still more by proceeding on the service I had undertaken, the impaired state I have been in for some time, followed by the violent attack I was seized with on the 5th, the morning I meant to have marched from Tripasore, totally unhinged me; however, being better the ensuing day, and regarding the service I had undertaken as of the first consequence to the State. resolved not to lose a minute but proceed at all hazard to myself. Our route from thence is not marked with any occurrences of consequence till 9th, when, on my arrival at the Pone River, the enemy appeared in great force on the opposite side. But in passing the river they immediately struck their camp and marched off to beyond Lallapit: the eminences and posts they quitted were taken possession of. I took up my ground near where they had decamped from. I proceeded on my march at daybreak yesterday for Vellore. When we had gone on about 4 miles the enemy appeared advancing therefrom towards Lallapit, one line pointing for our rear and another on our left flank. The attacking our baggage and convoy for Vellore was apparently their grand object, and the guarding this, not to be repaired, if lost, required the utmost circumspection. They made their attack supported by a number of heavy guns cannonading at a great distance: just at this time, the first line had crossed a deep morass, which impeded, both our train, rice carts and bullocks, &c., very much. The different brigades were immediately ordered to be posted so as to keep the enemy in check on all sides, while our convoy passed the bad ground. The whole got over safe and was secured at the head of our line. The enemy's guns kept up a distant but incessant cannonade for about four hours, when finding they could make no material impression, and that they had not the least chance of distressing our convoy, drew of their artillery and troops about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when I called in the different posts it had been necessary to occupy, and proceeded on my march to ground about 4 miles distance from Vellore. I moved the army this morning close to the Pettah. The provision, stores, &c., to be deposited in the garrison will be lodged there this afternoon, and as the object of our march is now happily completed, I shall set off on my return to-morrow morning. The spirit of the troops in this service does them the greatest honor. This is the

day, the Commanding Officer of Vellore acquainted both Government and me, that it was absolutely necessary to be relieved, that he could not hold out one hour longer. I have the pleasure of recollecting that every store there was carriage for at Madras has been safely conveyed them, and I am to lament that the state of carriage for provision is so inadequate to the exigency of service, that all offensive operations of consequence are in a manner obliged to be laid aside for want of it. The army are equal to every necessary undertaking that can be required from them, provided Government can find the requisite and indispensable resources of money, provisions and carriage. The return of casualties of yesterday are enclosed. We expended but little ammunition; what is wanting to complete the tumbrils, will be taken this afternoon from Vellore. My state of health is very indifferent, and being yesterday the whole day obliged to expose myself on horseback to an intense sun, is at this present time severely felt by me.

A European soldier, who yesterday made his escape from the enemy into Vellore, reports that Hyderali has taken Chundergeery by assault and put the whole garrison to the sword; that great preparations were making in his camp for the arrival of a body of 8,000 Europeans; that he lately received a reinforcement of about 15,000 horses and many Polygars; that the horse were said in his camp to be Maharattas; that there was a Frenchman of consequence arrived in his camp within these ten days, whom Hyder's people styled, an Ambassador; and the language was there that this person had been high in the service at Pondicherry.

I have, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

CAMP ON THE BANKS OF THE VELLORE RIVER,
The 11th July 1782.

To

The RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B.,
President and Governor, &c., &c., &c., Select Committee,
Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I marched at sunrise this morning from Vellore, and have now the honor to acquaint you that I was attacked about 11 o'clock by the whole of Hyder Ally's force while the troops were crossing the deep morass mentioned in my last; their attack was supported by a number of heavy guns cannonading at a great distance, but the instant we got clear of the swamp we advanced upon them with as much expedition as the nature of the service would permit, on which they retreated and recrossed the Pone River with the utmost precipitation. I pursued him for about 3 miles, when night coming on I was under the necessity of stopping, and am but this moment reached my present ground, where I intend encamping for the night.

By a deserter I am informed, that, upon my advancing, Hyder gave orders for his troops to fall back to Timery. A detail of the occurrences of this day, I shall present you with, the first leisure moment.

I have, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

CAMP NEAR MALPADDY, WEST BANKS OF THE PONE,
The 13th January 1782,
12 at night.

To

The RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B.,
President and Governor, &c., &c., &c., Select Committee,
Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I have had the honor of acquainting you with the different movements of the army up to the 13th instant: permit me now to particularize the occurrences of consequence of that day.

I marched on the 13th in the morning, from the ground we were on near Vellore, by the route mentioned to be intended, in my letters of the 12th. For the

first 7 miles there was no appearance of any enemy, but by the time the leading corps of the line had crossed the marshy ground where Hyder had on the 10th instant tried to impede our progress to Vellore, he appeared in all his force advancing from towards Arcot and from the Lallapit Hill, trying by a quick movement as his heavy and numerous train of artillery would permit to get near enough our rear corps, to cannonade them advantageously before they were clear of the bad ground, and also to annoy our last line while they were posted to cover the rear. His 24 and 18-pounder commanding a much more considerable distance than our light 6's and 12's gives him an opportunity of attempting these distant cannonades with an idea of some success, and Hyder always takes care to be certain that there is impeding or impossible ground between his army and ours: thus he is always sure of its being optional with him to draw off his guns in safety before our army can act offensively to advantage. Our troops sustained a heavy cannonade for three hours, happily with little loss. The instant the rear and baggage had crossed the morass, I posted my baggage and stores close to an adjoining hill, leaving for their protection a strong corps with fourteen 6 and 3-pounders, and pushed on the army over high ground by the nearest possible route for the enemy's main body and guns. I moved off from the left lines, in column first, and, as the ground opened sufficiently for forming, marched on in line of battle. This was about 4 in the afternoon. As soon as our army was near enough to do execution, we opened an advancing fire of artillery from all parts, and had the mortification to see the enemy precipitately draw off. I term it a mortification, for if Hyder would have stood and risked the chance of war for one hour, his army would, in all probability, have been destroyed, such is the ardor and power of the handful of veterans I have the honor of commanding, but truely distressing our situation for the want of proper magazines, means of field subsistence and carriage for it. His corps of cavalry are so numerous, that in our slow infantry pursuits I am obliged to give every attention to advancing collectively in force, that I may not risk insult to divided corps either on my flanks or in my rear. We pursued his army till dark, drove them over the branch of the Pone River (nor did they halt till they had nearly gained the plains of Timmery). I slowly returned to the ground the enemy had been obliged to decamp from on the 9th, and which was within a mile of where I had posted my baggage. The line did not reach that ground till midnight. I this day have repassed the Pone River without seeing the enemy in any force, and shall to-morrow morning proceed towards Tripasore.

I request you will be pleased to send the earliest information of the relief of Vellore to the Supreme Council with an account of honour our arms have acquired in the course of this important service, also that Mr. Holland may be instructed to inform the Nizam of it, trying to impress him in strong and joined terms with the necessity there is for his taking a decided friendly line. Cavalry and other assistance from him, if it can be obtained, are objects which it is only necessary barely to mention; your Government must see the great utility they would be of to our cause. A Portuguese Captain and some others came off to us in the action of yesterday. The Portuguese reports that the language in Hyder's camp is that a large body of French and Dutch troops are expected on this coast; this information is not new, but it is added they will possibly land in the Sircars, though there may be no foundation for supposing they would make a push for that quarter; yet at the same time it is necessary to guard against such a contingency in case it should be attempted. One of the great claims of counteracting them in the Sircars would be by Government exerting every possible means founded on the basis of friendly faith and promised future attention to the Nizam's real interests to induce him, to take the field, and secure him as an active ally.

I enclose the return of casualties of yesterday.

I have, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

CAMP BETWEEN MALPADDY AND SHOLINGUR,
The 14th January 1782.

To

The Right Hon'ble George Lord Macartney, K.B.,
President and Governor, &c., &c., &c., Select Committee,
Fort St. George.

My Lord and Gentlemen,—I have the honor to inform you that I arrived here this morning, having left the army last night at Tripasore.

I am sorry I should be obliged, upon return from so severe a service as the late march for the relief of Vellore has proved, having in the course of it engaged and defeated the enemy, to represent to you the very heavy disappointment I experienced on my arrival at Tripasore, on finding, that during the absence of the army, not more than 750 bags of rice had been sent to that place for its subsistence, a quantity little more than equal to one day's consumption for the fighting men and followers, and by the report made to me by the grain-keeper there, what remained of the former stock (reserving nothing for the garrison) was not more than equal to two days' subsistence for the fighting men and followers of which last denomination numbers have lately died by want.

However much I am impressed with a sense of the zeal you must naturally possess for forwarding the service at so very interesting and important a conjuncture of our affairs and whereof the army is now the only prop, yet it occurs to me to observe that the 1,700 bullocks which in one of your late letters you advise me had arrived here the day after my departure, being the 3rd of this month, do not appear to have been at all employed on this very necessary occasion. Permit me to recommend their being all loaded with rice and sent to the army with the utmost despatch, as, at this present moment, I do not believe there is more than two days' rice in camp for the fighting men and none for the followers.

It was my wish until you could have equipped the army in such manner as to have enabled it to act with effect, by discharging the heavy arrears now due and supplying a sufficiency of carriage for provisions, stores, &c., to have continued it at or near Tripasore, where it could not fail of checking the enemy from pursuing any operations either to the northward or southward; but upon finding the stock of rice in that garrison was so very small, I of necessity left orders for it to come to Vellore this morning, being about half-way betwixt Pondamalle and Tripasore. Every step that it falls back, from the enemy's situation, is not only a certain loss of credit, but of advantage. These are consequences which, arising as they evidently do from the want of supplies, I can in no respect hold myself responsible for, and as from the experience I have already had, I can have no dependence on the armies being found in such a manner as to enable me to conduct it to such operations as would produce the most permanant advantages, and do that justice, which my zeal for the interests of the Company and honor of the British arms, prompts me to, I must resign the task and leave it to the execution of some one whose health and abilities may be better calculated to surmount those difficulties, which I can no longer, in a due regard to the cause of the public and my honor and reputation as a soldier, pretend to contend against.

I have, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

Fort St. George,
The 19th January 1782.

Fort Malborought, the 18th October 1781.

To

The Right Hon'ble George Lord Macartney, K.B.,
President and Governor, &c., &c., &c., Select Committee,
Fort St. George.

My Lord,—It is with particular pleasure I congratulate Your Lordship to the accession of the chair of Fort St. George, and I sincerely hope those distinguished abilities which have hitherto marked your conduct in public life will extricate our employers from the dangers that have threatened our settlement on the Coromandel Coast.

The invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder I fear has prevented a total conquest of Dutch India. Their settlements, My Lord, would have been as easily wrested from them as the Portuguese were formerly by this nation. Their forts to the eastward generally consist of a square with four bastions, without any modern works. Their garrisons chiefly of a motley tribe, without discipline, without clothing, and very little pay. Their officers without practice, generally the scum of the people, exceedingly ignorant, and dead to every feeling excepting to that of smoking and sophi drinking, and so great is the economy of their Government that scarce a garrison has a corps of more than five or six officers—many two. I confine this account to the eastern settlements. Two ships of the line with 2 frigates and 500 land forces would have commanded terms to any garrison, excepting Batavia. Their government is everywhere abhorred by the country people, and I am persuaded the appearance of ships alone, at some settlements, would occasion a revolt. My Lord, a detachment of such a squadron during the height of the monsoon would answer two purposes, not only distressing the enemy, but recruiting your own strength, for, as Dutch soldiers consist generally of Germans, they would all enlist under your colours, and I am persuaded if Sir Edward Hughes would send this small squadron to Batavia roads, he would soon man his fleet. The five China ships when they passed the Straits of Sunda threw a strong panic into the Batavia Government. They vainly attempted to supply the deficiencies of the crew, reduced by a most unhealthful climate, by Malays and Chinese, and I am assured they could not muster 600 healthy soldiers in all Batavia, however considerable their returns may be. If the China ships who captured Padang had been of less value and not loaded, we might have risked sending them into the Straits to have cruized for two spice ships, which generally arrive at Batavia the latter end of August. They have sent only one ship to Japan this season, and I believe not one to China. No fleet was appointed for Europe in August, nor had the two Dutch men-of-war arrived which Commodore Johnstone advises to have sailed from Madura. I hope he has taken them at the Cape. The capture of Padang must be a great loss to the Dutch, although their balances amount to £50,000 only. The detention of the China ships was not esteemed any ways prejudicial by the Captains, as they have now a more favourable season to go home.

The Dutch settlements on this coast are truly important to us if we can obtain an absolute cession of them. They produced in former times about 12,000 ounces of gold annually and such plenty of black cattle and poultry as to be capable of supplying a large fleet. If an expedition was going against Batavia, this place, however despicable it has appeared in the map of India, would furnish 1,000 head of cattle in two or three days.

I hope, my Lord, on receiving advice from Calcutta of their inability of sending a ship from thence to fill at this port with pepper, you will be able to send one of the China ships who have lost their passage, as we shall have near 1,000 tons of pepper in February next after completing the loading of the *Lord North*, which will sail in a few days for China. I am certain, by the accounts received from the five ships, all we can send will be truly acceptable, as possibly the Calcutta Treasury will be too much drained to admit of a great aid from thence, and 1,000 tons of pepper will be a severe loss if this settlement should be captured. This is an event that may happen if a large French force comes here, but I flatter myself all the power of the Dutch will not be able to effect such a conquest. On the 13th July we dispatched the sloop *Euphrates* to Madras; as she is not returned, we fear she has been captured.

My public character will apologize for my addressing you; communications of sentiments in those who hold employ are sometimes of benefit to their general employers. It is with that view I intrude on your time; but on the other hand, I shall be truly happy if there is anything in this part of the world that you would wish to have that I could execute.

Wishing you all manner of success in your government, I remain with respect.

Your, &c.,

E. COLES.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 28th February 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*
EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.
JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on Command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 25th instant.

Received a letter as follows from the Select Committee of Fort St. George:—

To

The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., Council of Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—We have the pleasure to inform you that His Majesty's ship *Seahorse* arrived here this morning from Trincomaly with letters from Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, announcing to us his success against that place and Fort Olenburg, which was taken by storm.

There were found in the forts a considerable quantity of military stores, and 150,000 dollars in specie, and two Indiamen ready laden for Europe were taken in the harbour.

The *Seahorse* spoke with Captain Alms, who had with him the *Hero*, *Isis*, and *Monmouth*, and General Meadows with one of the transports.

Sir Edward Hughes arrived with the fleet this afternoon, and we may expect Captain Alms every hour.

We have, &c.,

MACARTNEY.
A. SADLIER.
W. WILLIAMS.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
The 8th February 1782.

P.S.—Since writing the above our President has received a letter from the Officer Commanding at Pullicat, of which the enclosed is a copy. We shall write further to-morrow.

To

The RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY.

MY LORD,—I have just now intelligence brought me, that may be depended upon, that a little to the northward of Pullicat there are thirty-two French ships and there are two French ships within them very near the shore, taking and sinking all the coasting vessels they can meet with. When they appear in sight from Pullicat I shall lose no time to inform Your Lordship thereof.

I have, &c.,

GEORGE SMITH.

PULLICAT,
The 8th February 1782.

The above letter having been received on the 26th instant, the following general order was immediately published to the army and circulated to the different subordinates with the letter entered after it:—

General Order.

No. 3.

The Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council have received public advices from the Presidency of Bombay of the safe arrival of Commander Alms with the naval armament under his command from Europe, and a large

body of land forces commanded by General Meadows on the 6th ultimo, and have further received intelligence from the same authority of a signal and complete victory gained by our arms at Tellicherry under the conduct of Major Abington, the Commanding Officer of that garrison, against the army of Hyder Ally, which had invested the place for two years; that about four hundred of the enemy were killed in this engagement and Sirdar Cawn, the General who commanded on part of Hyder Ally, together with all his family, several principal officers and one thousand five hundred men made prisoners, and the post of Fort St. George and Mahe, which were in the enemy's possession, captured, besides booty to a considerable amount; and the Board have also received public and ultimate news from the Government of Fort St. George that Trincomaly and the Fort of Alenburg, belonging to the Dutch on the Island of Ceylon, were taken by storm on the 6th ultimo by the fleet under command of Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, together with a very large property in military stores and goods, also 150,000 dollars in specie and two Indiamen, ready laden for Europe.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 7th March 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on Command at the Presidency of Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 4th instant.

Resolved that a letter as follows be written to the King of Boney, the Sultan of Mendano, and to the Chief of the Moluccas:—

To

The King of Boney.

Long has the renown of the King of Bhony, as well as the name and character of the Buggesses, inhabitants of the extensive island of Celebes, which is subject to your authority, been known in these parts; but from certain commercial agreements subsisting between my Sovereign, the King of Great Britain, and the Dutch which precluded us from any kind of intercourse with that country, I have been prevented hitherto from paying my respects to you. As the Dutch have now taken up arms against us, and the faith of all former agreements with that nation has been cancelled, by the conduct which they have pursued, I gladly take this occasion to establish a correspondence with you, which I hope may in the end prove mutually agreeable and beneficial to us both.

This letter will be delivered to you by Captain Thomas Forrest, a person well acquainted with the countries subordinate to you, and for this reason he has received credentials from this Government to offer our friendship and good wishes to yourself and the other Chiefs with whom you are in amity, and to intimate to you the successes which, thro' the will of divine Providence, we have had the good fortune to meet with against our enemies, the French, and Dutch, both, in this country and in Europe. In Hindustan the French have been deprived of all the forts and possessions which they ever held there, and we have conquered from the Dutch their principal settlement of Negapatam, together with Sadrass, Pullicat and all the factories they possessed upon the Coast of Coromandel and in Bengal. A considerable force was likewise detached against their garrisons on the Island of Ceylon, which is returned to Madras, after the capture of the harbour and forts at Trincomaly. The Dutch have likewise lost some of their valuable possessions in the West Indies.

If I have been rightly informed, you have great cause to complain against the treacherous proceedings of the Dutch. I flatter myself, therefore, that you will readily join with us in distressing this faithless people, by driving them

entirely out of your dominions, while we attack them in other quarters. Whatever places may be taken from them on the Island of Celebes, together with any property which they may possess there, will of course belong to you: we desire not to succeed to their garrisons, nor to make any fixed establishments, but merely to cultivate your good opinion, and to open a free and beneficial trade between your subjects and the English nation, which shall be liable only to such regulations and orders as you may think fit to agree to. I have written to the same effect, by Captain Thomas Forrest, to the Molucca Chiefs and to the Sultan of Mindano, with all whom, I understand, you are in friendship. He will explain fully to you and to them the extent of the wishes and intentions of this Government. I therefore refer you to him for further particulars, and have only to remark if you shall resolve to commence hostilities against the Dutch, that no time is to be lost, for while such accumulated distress falls upon them they will have less the means of resistance in their power than if they are allowed to recover from their present misfortunes.

Secret Dept.,
Monday.

Fort William, the 11th March 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

The Proceedings of the 7th instant read and approved.

The following letters from Fort St. George having been received on the 9th instant are now recorded:—

To

The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., Council of Fort William.

HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,—The French fleet sailed from Pulicat yesterday morning, and was descried from hence, about 2 o'clock, steering directly towards this port. It consists of twenty-eight sail, of which twelve large ships, the rest frigates and transports. A little after sunset they came to an anchor at the distance of 3 or 4 leagues. At daybreak this morning they again got under sail and stood for these roads. Between 12 and 1 o'clock the leading ships anchored to give time to the rear division to come up. About half-past two they weighed, and the whole stood under an easy sail to the south-east, and in that direction past our fleet (at anchor) at the distance of 2 or 3 miles. About half-past four, when the whole of the French fleet were clearly to leeward, Sir Edward Hughes made the signal for weighing anchor, and before 6 our fleet got under sail, and stood in line of battle towards the enemy, who were then about 2 leagues distant.

There seems little doubt that an engagement will take place to-morrow, and although the enemy are superior in numbers, we have the firmest hope that the issue will be favourable to the British arms.

We have the honour to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, &c.,
MACARTNEY.
AUTH. SADLIER.
M. WILLIAMS.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
The 15th February 1782.

Resolved that the following letter be written to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George :—

To

The Select Committee at Fort St. George.

My Lord and Gentlemen,—We have already acquainted you that we had received your several letters up to the 12th February, accompanied by your proceedings, which we should take an early opportunity of perusing with attention. We have now the pleasure to acknowledge your further letters of the 15th and 18th of the same month.

From all these we perceive the great difficulties you have had to struggle with in supporting the army in its operations in the Carnatic, and we observe with concern that notwithstanding your great exertions aided by the unwearied zeal, and unexampled perseverance of General Sir Eyre Coote, and the established superiority of the forces under his command that scarce any, if any, substantial advantage has been obtained over the enemy, whose power may continue to require the same vigorous efforts to resist it when the means shall be less within your reach. We therefore dread the continuance of the war in its consequences upon the strength and resources of these provinces, which must be considered as the essential part of the British dominions, interest and property in India. The dominion of Bengal from its wealth, internal strength, and local advantages might be capable of defence against all the powers of the world, combined to attack it, if those advantages were confined to its own security, but in the past and actual application of your we feel them gradually declining from the incessant drain which is unavoidably made upon them for the defence of the Company's remote and less valuable possessions, and we have been imperceptibly led into the prosecution of a system so ruinous in its consequences, that if it should be extended beyond a certain length, it will exhaust the vital powers of this country, and expose it a certain prey to the first invader.

This obliges us to regard the war in the Carnatic as our own, and more interestingly though not so immediately, our concern than yours, because the final loss of all the British possessions under your Government would affect us only as a prelude to the loss of Bengal. You will therefore allow us to enter more minutely into such parts of your transactions as properly from the detail, and to which we should never have thought of extending observations in a situation less urgent or critical than that which at present calls for our interposition, and we are further and indeed principally impelled to it by the letters which we have lately received from General Sir Eyre Coote. We shall offer our advice with all the tenderness and delicacy which become us upon a subject of which we profess to have no adequate materials to found a certain judgment, yet for the sake of expressing our sentiments the more fully, we will suppose every care which this correspondence alludes to, to exist in its extreme, as the grounds of our conclusions upon them.

In all the advices transmitted to us of the operations on the Coast of Coromandel since the commencement of the war in the Carnatic, one capital defect has been invariably stated as the cause which has prevented our army from taking the field for any series of services, and prevented it from pursuing the greatest advantages which it has obtained over the enemy with effect, namely, the want of draft and carriage cattle.

We read in your proceedings many expedients which you have adopted and great pains taken to overcome this difficulty. Your measures, however, have not only failed of success, but appear to us to have been such as must ever prove abortive from too strict an attention to a principle which in justice we are compelled to approve, and even to applaud, whilst we recommend a plan totally subversive of it.

We think we see grounds sufficient for conviction that it will be utterly impossible to provide the number of cattle which will be required for the use of the army on effective service by the ordinary and regular means of optional sale and purchase, or even by attempting an equal assessment. To take them

by violence would occasion a general outcry among the people, and if not a real obstruction to the collection of the revenue, it might prove a valid plea for withholding it; but this is not a time to apply ordinary means, or to pay too strict an attention to all the rights of a peaceable and tranquil Government. The attention before you at this particular crisis is, or seems to be, whether a few individuals shall withhold for a short time, and at their own option, the means by which the country may be redeemed from the horrors and effects of a protracted war till the whole be past redemption, or whether these means shall be forcibly taken by Government and applied to the preservation of the whole. We hesitate not to declare on this point, that if you cannot obtain such means without violence, violence must and ought to be used in that degree which shall be necessary to secure them. It is always in the power of Government to make the people, who may suffer by it, a due compensation for what is taken from them, and the suspension or remission of revenue, scanty as it is, can prove no object likely to be with every attention given to it of competition with such an important consideration.

The second point on which we mean to treat in this letter is the power of directing the operations of the army and the exercise of that power. General Sir Eyre Coote has complained to us in strong terms of an interference on the part of your Government in his general command, and of the embarrassments arising from it in his measures, and he has declared that unless these are effectually removed and all the military operations in the Carnatic left to his sole and exclusive conduct and control, so that they be consistently and uniformly directed to the same common objects, it will be impossible for him to exercise any longer his command, or to afford his services with any hopes of credit or success, but that he must, in justice to the public and his own honor, relinquish the task as impracticable.

We do not pretend to enquire into the grounds of this complaint, indeed we are better pleased, that we are destitute of the evidence requisite to form a judgment, whether it is well or ill founded, than solicitous to obtain it. We see but one single instance in which the great importance of its object and its complete success will justify the greatest irregularity, admitting that any was committed in the mode in which it was executed, we allude to the siege and capture of Negapatam.

Whether there are any other causes for Sir Eyre Coote's dissatisfaction besides the above we know not, but we shall offer our opinion upon the general question, and beg you will receive it in good part. We think that so much is due to the unexampled zeal and exertions of the present Commander-in-Chief, and to the confidence, which we are assured, the army reposes in his command, and so much depends in all operations of war on uniformity of system and authority, that we do most earnestly recommend to you that Sir Eyre Coote's wishes in this point may be gratified to their fullest possible extent, and that you will allow him an entire and unparticipated command over all the forces acting under your authority in the Carnatic. We do not mean to include your own immediate garrison excepting in that single case which we will not suppose, and which, if it should happen is already provided for, by the special orders of the Court of Directors.

We are sensible at the same time that every Government must of course possess an ultimate and overruling authority, and that the right of exercising such authority which is inherent in it must also be invariable and perpetual, notwithstanding any restrictions which it may impose upon itself for particular purposes, and cases may possibly happen in which the instant interposition of that authority may be absolutely necessary for the safety of the state without either a participation or communication with the person entrusted with the general military command. When such cases do occur, they will of course take effect from their own weight and urgency, and it will depend on your judgment alone to determine whether they be such as demand your sole and separate interposition. We mean not to prescribe the application of the rule in such cases, and we hope there will be no occasion for it, but in all others we wish that the whole conduct of the war may be left entirely to the management and direction of the Commander-in-Chief, at least to the officer who now holds that station, and whom we consider as entitled to such a mark of confidence in the most distinguished manner.

You will judge how sincerely we wish you to adopt this principle from its conformity to our own example far exceeding the limited scene of your operations, for the General had no sooner taken his departure from hence to assume the immediate conduct of the operations in the Carnatic, than we issued orders to all our troops employed on foreign service to pay implicit obedience to such injunctions as they might receive from him without writing for our sanction or confirmation.

In some points however we think the principle we have recommended should be carried beyond our example, such, for instance, as in the conciliation of the dependant Chiefs of the Carnatic, the acceptance of terms offered by those of the enemy, and in general such other acts as do not fall within the express line of military command, but which may contribute to the success of its operations either by adding strength to our arms or weakening those which may be opposed to them. Who is charged with the conduct of the war, especially if he has shewn himself deserving of that confidence in an eminent degree, ought, we conceive, to be trusted with an implicit discretion.

We hope we have sufficiently guarded the advice which we have taken upon ourselves to give you in this letter upon the two points that occurred to us as requiring it, to obviate any inference that our interference is grounded on an opinion unfavorable to your past conduct. We have declared a different opinion of it in its relation to the first point, and on the latter we profess a total ignorance of any cause which could have excited the General's displeasure excepting one, and that we mention as reflecting in its consequences a credit on your administration, and we believe it has proved equally pleasing to him. As co-partners in a common cause, we mean only to contribute our councils to the aid of yours. Were we to adopt the ostensible and artificial language that prudence which dictates to the minds of men the sole preservation of their own personal characters by acting under the cover of prescribed forms without regard to public consequences, we might avail ourselves of the powers with which the Court of Directors have lately invested us over the other Presidencies to take the lead in all their military and political operations, and of peremptory orders given by them to the other Presidencies to pay an implicit obedience to our injunctions; but the exercise of such a privilege might prove as ungrateful to you as it would be painful to ourselves, and we know it to be unnecessary: we do not command; we only recommend; and this degree of interference is assumed by us more with a view to lessen the weight of your responsibility by taking on ourselves a considerable portion of it in so hazardous a service, and under circumstances requiring perhaps some deviation from the rules of ordinary practice or general opinion, than for the purpose of influencing your measures or of opposing the judgment in which you had formed them.

We have read with attention your proceedings, and though it would be superfluous for us to descend to particular remarks upon them, we cannot avoid taking this opportunity of expressing our entire satisfaction with the agreement which has been made by your President with the Nabob Walla Jah for obtaining the cession of the revenues of the Carnatic into the hands of your agents for the support of the war; and we applaud the address and ability with which so considerable a point must have been gained from him. At the same time we think it a justice due to the Nabob to declare it as our opinion that in this act he has afforded the strongest proof of the sincerity and warmth of his attachment to the interests of the Company, and that he merits every acknowledgment and return which it may be in their power to make for it either to him or his family.

As the intentions of Nizam Ally Cawn yet remain doubtful and his conduct rather suspicious, and at all events as the appearance of a detachment of forces on our southern frontier, ready to march on any service which they may be required to perform, will be of use to your military operations in the Carnatic, we have, agreeably to your desire, ordered a detachment of four regiments of sepoys with a suitable proportion of artillery to be formed under the command of Major William Popham.

We have written to Mr. Hollond desiring he will lose no time in bringing the Nabob Nizam Ally to a definitive declaration of his intentions with respect to us, and if he shall agree to the defensive plan of alliance which has been

proposed as the basis of a treaty with him, and in consequence resolve to assist us with his forces in the present contest against Hyder, we have empowered him to make a requisition to Major Popham to join his army immediately with the detachment which we expect will be ready upon our frontiers before his answer can arrive.

We are, with esteem,

My Lord and Gentlemen, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.
EDWARD WHELER.
JOHN McPHERSON.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 11th March 1782.

Intelligence from Porto Novo, the 21st February 1782.

One of our hircarrahs from Porto Novo reports that he met with the butler of Captain Bowles in that place, who told him that on Monday last, the 18th instant, Colonel Brathwaite was entirely defeated by Teepoo Saib at 10 o'clock in the morning; that the Colonel was wounded in his back with a sword, and that his son lost one of his legs with a cannon ball; one of the officers of the cavalry killed and another wounded; all his men taken by the enemy; a great number of sepoys killed and wounded, excepting eight companies, who were ordered by the Colonel to make their way good to Tranquebar, with tents, baggage, provisions, and some money while he was engaged with the enemy; and that they arrived safe at that place. Teepoo Saib and Monsieur Lally had marched towards Nagapatam with Colonel Brathwaite prisoner with them and some officers; it is said that the French ships are going to Negapatam to land their men there. The above butler further told him that two battalions of sepoys and four guns arrived at Shawcottah from Tanjore to reinforce Colonel Brathwaite, but in the meantime, hearing that he was defeated, they returned to Tanjore. Colonel Brathwaite wounded and prisoner, Captain Bowles prisoner, Mr. Campbell prisoner, Mr. Samson wounded and prisoner. Mr. Kennet ditto, Mr. Cameron killed, three other ostensive officers are wounded and prisoners.

A true copy.

THOMAS KINGSCOLE,
Deputy Secretary.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 638 F. D.—23-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 1st April to 6th June 1782.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 1st April 1782

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., absent on service at Fort St. George.

Received the following letter from SIR EDWARD HUGHES, *Superb*, in Madras Road, the 17th March 1782 :—

Sir Edward Hughes, 20th March.

GENTLEMEN,—I had the honor to address you last by letter of the 12th of February from this road, advising you of the success of His Majesty's squadron under my command against Trincomalee on the Island of Ceylon, and the same day received intelligence of the arrival of the French squadron on this coast to the northward. On the 15th they came in sight of this place, and stood in for the road apparently with an intention to attack the ships there, but on their near approach, and finding the squadron more numerous than they expected, they hauled away to the southward, when I immediately made the signal for the squadron to weigh and pursued them. I stood to the southward all that night under an easy sail, and at day-light next morning found they had separated, twelve sail of line of battle-ships and a frigate bearing east of me, distant about four leagues, and sixteen sail of frigates, transports, and other vessels bearing south-west, distant about three leagues and steering direct for Pondichery. I immediately made the signal for a general chase to the south-west, in order, if possible, to come with and take their transports, and well knowing the enemy's line of battle-ships would follow to protect them all in their power. In the course of the chase our copper-bottomed ships came up with six sail of ships and vessels, five of which were English, captured by the enemy, with grain cargoes, out of which I ordered the Frenchmen to be taken and the vessels directed to proceed to Negapatam Road, the sixth was the *L'Auriston* transport having on board 300 of their troops taken by the *Isis*.

The moment the enemy's line of battle-ships discovered my intention to chase their transports, they put before the wind and made all the sail they could after me, and by three o'clock in the afternoon four of their best sailing line of of battle-ships were got within two or three miles of their sternmost ships, and the ships in chase were very much spread by the ships they were chasing, steering different courses, some to the south-east, others to the south, and several to the south-west. I therefore judged it necessary to make the signal for the chasing ships to join me, which they all did about 7 o'clock in the evening, and I continued standing to the south-east under an easy sail all that night, the enemy's squadron in sight and making many signals.

At day-light in the morning of the 17th the body of the enemy's squadron borne north by east of ours, distant about three leagues, the morning very thick and hazy with light winds and frequent squalls of short duration from the north-north-east, and the enemy crowding all the sail they could towards our squadron. At 6 in the morning I made the signal to form in line of battle ahead at two cables length distance. At 25 minutes past 8 our line ahead being formed with great difficulty from the want of wind and frequent intervals of calms, I made the signal for the leading ship to make the same sail as the *Admiral*, and made sail formed in the line ahead with intention to try to weather the enemy that I might engage them closely. At 10 the enemy's

squadron having the advantage of the squalls from north-north-east which always reached them first and in consequence continued longest with them, neared our squadron very fast, and I made the signal for our line to alter the course two points to starboard, the enemy's squadron then steering down on our rear in an irregular double line abreast. At half an hour past noon I made the signal for our squadron to form the line of battle abreast at two cables length distance in order to draw the rear of our line up with the centre, and prevent the enemy from attacking it separately. At 3 in the afternoon the enemy still pushing on to our rear in a double line abreast, I made the signal for the ships in our line to steer and bear south-east and north-west of each other in order to draw our rear ships still closer to the centre, and at 40 minutes after 3, finding it impossible to avoid the enemy's attack under all the disadvantages of little or no wind, and that of being to leeward of them, I made the signal for our squadron to form the line of battle ahead at two cables length distance. At 4 the *Exeter*, which was the sternmost ship on our rear when formed in line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, not being closed up to her second ahead, three of the enemy's ships in their first line bore down right upon her, whilst four more of their second line headed by the *Hero* hauled along the outside of their first line towards our centre. At 5 minutes past 4 the enemy's three ships begun their fire on the *Exeter*, which was returned by her and her second ahead. At 10 minutes past 4 I made the signal for battle, and at 12 minutes the action became general from our centre to our rear, the commanding ship of the enemy with three others of their second line leading down on our centre, yet never at any time during the action advancing farther than opposite to the *Superb's* (our centre ship) chestree and beam, and we having little or no wind and some heavy rain during that time.

Under these circumstances the enemy brought eight of their best ships to the attack of five of our, as the van of our line consisting of the *Monmouth*, *Eagle*, *Burford*, and *Worcester* could not be brought into action without taking on the enemy, and although the signal for that purpose was at the mast-head ready for hoisting, there was neither wind sufficient to enable them to tack nor for the five ships then engaged with the enemy hard-pressed and much disabled in their sails and rigging to follow them without an almost certainty of separating our van from our rear. At 6 in the afternoon a squall of wind from the south-east took our ships and paid them round head on to the enemy to the north-eastward, when the engagement was renewed with great spirit and alacrity from our starboard guns, and at 25 minutes past 6 the enemy hauled on their wind to the north-east and ceased firing.

At this time the *Superb* had lost her main yard shot into two pieces in the slings, had five feet water in her hold, and continued for some time to gain on all her pumps, until many of the largest shot-holes under water were plugged up, and neither brace nor bow-line left entire, and the *Exeter*, reduced almost to the state of a wreck, had made the signal of distress, the other three ships in our rear, the *Monarca*, *Isis*, and *Hero* had suffered less, and indeed the enemy's fire appeared plainly to be directed principally against the *Superb* and *Exeter*.

In this situation I stood to the southward under little or no sail all night, and in the morning at day-light found the *Superb's* mainmast, foremast and bowsprit so much wounded as to render it exceedingly dangerous to carry sail on them. The *Exeter's* masts were also much damaged, and the shot-holes in all the ships so far under water as to render it impossible to stop them but by giving the ships deep heels in smooth water, all which, and the wind continuing to blow from the northward, determined me to proceed to Trincomalee, there as the only proper place to refit the disabled ships, but having had little winds and a northerly current, I did not reach it till the 24th of last month, and having done with the utmost expedition what was absolutely necessary to put the ships in a condition for service, I sailed from that place on the 4th of this month, having advanced to Captain Bonniveaux, the Commandant there, a farther sum of money for the pay of the garrison, and General Meadows having left a detachment of the 98th Regiment, consisting of two officers and 50 men, for the better securing of that important place.

On the 12th of the month I returned with His Majesty's squadron to this road, and am now using all possible diligence to complete the water provisions

and stores of the ships, of all which they were in great want, and will, I hope, be effected in a few days more, when I shall proceed off the Island of Ceylon to cruize for the protection of the transport with troops ordered round from the Malabar Coast, and of our expected reinforcements from England.

The enemy's squadron, of which I herewith enclose an authentic list, are now lying in Porto Novo Road, landing troops and taking in water; what they intend to do next is not known here.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
EDWARD HUGHES.

Authentic List of the French fleet.

Frigates and Sloops.

"Hero"	.	74	"Purvoyense"	.	40	"Flutes."
"L'Orient"	.	74	"La Fine"	.	40	"L'Auriston."
"Hannibal"	.	74	"Bellone"	.	40	"Bon Amis."
"Brilliant"	.	64	"Subtile"	.	20	"Maurepas."
"Severe"	.	64	"Silphide"	.	18	"Brison."
"Ajax"	.	64	"Diligent"	.	8	"Deux Amis."
"Bizarre"	.	64				"Tille Unique."
"Vengeur"	.	64				"St. Anne."
"Sphinx"	.	64				
"Artesien"	.	64				
"Flamand"	.	50				
"English Hannibal"		50				

Minute of the Board.

The Board considering the above account from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes of his engagement with the French fleet under Monsieur Sufferine on the Coast of Coromandel on the 17th February last, and deeming the advantages gained by our ships in taking the *L'Auriston* and rescuing a number of prizes captured by the enemy, and in silencing their fire after an action of two hours and a half under a great disparity of numbers as equal to a victory, ordered that a general discharge of the artillery in the garrison of Fort William be made to-morrow morning in commemoration of this event.

Agreed that the following letter be written to Sir Edward Hughes :—

To Sir Edward Hughes.

Sir,—We have received your letter of the 20th ultimo containing a detail of your engagement with the French squadron. We know not whether most to admire or applaud that gallant spirit and zeal for the service of your country which prompted you to pursue an enemy so superior in numbers and resolutely to force him into action under the additional disadvantages created by the circumstances which you have described. That in such a situation you should have been able to capture two of their capital transports, for the *Chapman's* prize we attribute to the effect of your dispersing that part of the squadron without any loss on your side, is a proof so unequivocal of the superior courage and discipline of the officers and seamen under your command, and of their confidence in their leader as must excite in the minds of all the powers in India a confirmed opinion of the unrivalled military character of the English nation. But independent of the benefits naturally arising from a superiority of reputation, we expect to derive the most solid advantages from the effects of this noble exertion in the public cause.

When we reflect that the French have been for years preparing this armament at a vast expense, and had formed the most flattering prospects of its success, that its arrival in India was regarded by the enemies of the British Government both here and at home as the final period of our power on the Coast of Coromandel; that upon its assistance Hyder Alli had formed the strongest hopes of our total extirpation, and the French themselves came in full confidence of complete conquest. We cannot but regard even a drawn battle which has been the means of disappointing such mighty expectations and of defeating a project which threatened our political existence in India as a decided victory, and we look for the most happy consequences to our affairs from the influence which your judicious and spirited efforts will produce on the conduct of every power in India which is interested in the present war either as friends or enemies.

In a word we regard your action with the French fleet as the crisis of our fate in the Carnatic, and in the result of it we see that province relieved and preserved, and the permanency of the British power in India firmly established. For such important services to the nation and to the Company we, as their representatives, offer you our warmest acknowledgments, and our sincerest congratulations on your success and the glory you have acquired in obtaining it.

We earnestly hope that a junction with your reinforcements will enable you to attain the most decisive advantages, and the entire exclusion of the enemy from these seas, an event which we dare to promise ourselves after the happy effect which we have already experienced from your command.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 4th April 1782.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—We have the honour to enclose you copy of a letter we have received from Mr. Fallofield our Provincial Chief at Cuddalore.

Fort St. George, 10th March.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
10th March 1782.

MACARTNEY,
& Select Committee.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—The report of the defeat of Tippoo Saheb's detachment to the westward of Trichinopoly spread everywhere to the southward, and is publicly spoke of at Porto Novo. He has lost, it is said, about 3,000 cavalry and a number of sepoys, and is himself with 1,000 horse returned to Combiconum. M. Lally with another party has taken a different route, but where he is is not known.

Mr. Fallofield to Madras Select Committee.

I am informed that five French officers have been to Chillumbrum, and that they talk of sending 300 men there soon. I hear they are collecting draft bullocks and making some fascines, &c. They have, however, landed no more people, but wait, it is said, for M. Piveron's return with Hyder's answer to their proposals. Two or three French officers accompanied M. Piveron to Hyder's camp.

Two French sailors came in to-day and say that 10 sailors and soldiers of one of the men-of-war had agreed to desert, but that the others could not make their escape.

They say there are 300 pieces of cannon for Hyder in the fleet, 60 mortars in one ship and the shells in another, and near 5,000 men, including 1,000 coffries and 200 or 300 sepoys of Mauritius, and that six of the transports are still missing; that 28 vessels left Mauritius, and they were three months on their passage, some of the ships sailing so slowly that they were at times taken in tow; that the engagement lasted four hours, but they believe none of the English or

French ships received much damage; that Admiral Sufferin's ship, the *Hero*, engaged Sir Edward's ship; and that the old *Brilliante* is in the fleet.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

CUDDALORE,
The 6th March 1782.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 22nd April 1782.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General.*

JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 15th instant.

Received the following letter from LORD MACARTNEY:—

Enclosed in Lord Macartney's letter.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—Before you receive this you will no doubt have heard of the unhappy fate of our Southern Army, who surrendered at discretion on the 18th at 12 o'clock at Annagoody, a village about 4 miles from Pantanellore. Tippoo Sahib and Lally with about 6,000 horse, 12,000 infantry, and twenty guns came upon them before they had timely notice to retreat. A few days before this Colonel Brathwaite had been so obliging as to offer to appoint me his aide-de-camp in the room of Lieutenant Bonedon (who died here on the 8th instant), and as my inclination led me to take the field the appointment was such as I could wish and I immediately accepted of it. I was proceeding the 17th to join him and had got as far as Shoalveram (about half-way betwixt Combaconum and camp) at 9 A.M., when I heard a very heavy cannonade and soon afterwards quick platoon firing. As I had about 2,000 pagodas with me, besides a very slender escort and no intelligence, I thought prudent to return to the fortified pagoda at Combaconum, where we had two companies of sepoys; informing Colonel Brathwaite at the same time of the steps I had taken. The next morning I had a chit from him by the sepoy I had sent of which the following is a copy: "Dear Sir,—We have had a very hard day of it, have kept our ground but are surrounded, do what the bearer tells you." On questioning the bearer, however he assured me he had no instructions whatever but to deliver the chit as soon as possible: he left camp at 10 at night, said they seemed to be in great confusion, and were preparing to move, and that he heard a great deal of firing about two hours after. The account of what passed afterwards from the sepoys, and others who have made their escape, to the time of their surrender, are confused and contradictory. The following are, however, the best I can collect, and what the major part of them seem to agree in. The Colonel attempted to retire in the night, but it was then too late, being surrounded and closely watched by the enemy. He marched about 10 with two battalions of sepoys, leaving the cavalry and the 13th Battalion on the ground, who were ordered to make a show of entrenching themselves by digging with mamuties, &c., and in two hours after to follow him as expeditiously as possible, leaving their tents standing. I am of opinion his intention was to retreat to Negapatam as he advanced towards Myaveram, but he soon found the enemy had got betwixt him and the 13th Battalion; and he therefore returned in order to join them which he effected with great difficulty, being obliged to fight all the way back The enemy rocketed him very much, which not only created great confusion but did great execution. It was day-break before the Colonel joined, when they had guns opening upon them from every quarter. They sustained this heavy cannonade, and were likewise engaged with the enemy's infantry

till 11 o'clock, when the Colonel, finding his destruction would be inevitable if he remained any longer on the ground, marched off and pushed for the Pagoda of Mannegoody (about a mile from camp), and he had merely gained it, when one of the battalions (most accounts say the Tanjore Grenadiers), seeing a large body of the enemy advancing to charge them, made a run for the Pagoda, leaving their guns behind them. This occasioned almost a general confusion when the enemy cut in amongst them and did great execution. At this time Colonel Brathwaite received a wound from an horseman across his back. The 13th Battalion, who had the rear, behaved extremely well and made their way good to the Pagoda. The sepoys, who had now been two days without provisions, and fighting about the whole time against such a superior force, were so disheartened that they called out for Cowl. There was a consultation of the officers, the result of which was they offered to surrender at discretion. There are several black officers and about 500 sepoys who escaped from the enemy and come in, here. All the officers except Lind are wounded. Mr. Stuart's boy is come in who says he saw his master killed; some sepoys of the 10th Battalion say he is only wounded.

Dr. White was unhurt. I have before mentioned to you that the accounts given by those who have escaped are very contradictory, but if I can hereafter obtain more circumstantial ones I shall send them to you. A sepoy is just now come in who says the Colonel is dead of his wounds—"happy for him if it is so." My accounts from camp were very unfavorable on the 18th, but I did not hear of the dreadful disaster till the day following, though I had upwards of thirty people out for intelligence, but the country being covered with horse, they could not procure any. I wrote to Captain Alcock and Mr. Sullivan all the particulars I could learn, and likewise sent the money into Tanjore. Captain Alcock wrote me that if I had heard nothing from Colonel Brathwaite to retreat immediately, which I did, and had the good luck to get into the fort bringing in the two companies from the fortified Pagods, and three which Ensign Salmon had at Triviar. The following is nearly the strength of the corps which Colonel Brathwaite had with him.

I am, &c.,

CHAS. SALMON.

Cavalry about 200 strong; Lieutenants Samson and Bowles, Ensigns Graham, Jheales, and Log; two select companies of the 6th Battalion; 13th Battalion, 300; Lieutenant Lind, Ensigns Gahagan and Heywood; 10th Battalion, 300; Lieutenant Gillon, Ensigns Holmes, Stuart, McAlly; Tanjore Grenadiers, 450; Lieutenant Eastland; 9th and 18th Battalions, 50; Ensign Kennet, Infantry, attached to the cavalry 150. Artillery: Captain Judson, Lieutenant Sutclife, Ensign Klawman; 80 Europeans and natives; Europeans 50; Ensign Fenwick; Lieutenant Cameron, Brigade Major, and Dr. White.

Six six-pounders; two three-pounder gallopers; one howitzer. All the sepoys who are come in say Hyder is certainly coming to besiege this place. Tippoo Sahib is encamped four miles to the northward of us.

A true copy,

THOS. KINGSCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

SIR,—You'll be pleased to acquaint the Right Hon'ble the Governor that my vessel is the Hon'ble Company's *Snow Elizabeth* from Fort Marlborough, bound to Bengal; that on my way there, in latitude 5° 40′ and about 30

leagues to the westward of Achinhead on the 11th March, fell in with a fleet of ships under the command of Captain Wolseley, and are as follows:—

	Guns.	
"Magnanime"	64	Captain Chas. Wolseley.
"Sultan"	74	Captain Watt.
"Neckar (French prize)" . . .	32	Captain Carpenter.
"Blanford"		Captain Pigou.
"Earl of Hertford"		Captain Clarke.
"Northumberland"		Captain Rees.
"Deptford"		Captain G. Elkinton.
"Chesterfield"		Captain Boswell.
"Lord Mulgrave"		Captain Urmstone.
"Tartar"		Captain Fiott.

Having on board the 78th Regiment, part of which are in a very sickly state, having touched at no place since they left St. Helena. On the 18th we fell in with the *Minchinbrooke* last from Mosambigue, where she had wintered after losing her passage.

Commodore Wolseley thought it of the greatest consequence to the service that the Governor and Admiral should be advised of the proximity of so large a fleet, not knowing the situation of affairs on the Coast that he thought proper to break through my orders, and to send me on with despatches which I shall bring on shore as early tomorrow morning as a boat can be procured which I shall leave to you. I saw them last in latitude 9° 13′ north and 7°00′ west of Acheen. Some of the Indiamen are very heavy sailers, and retard the progress of the good-going ships very much. The *Meckar* is under jury masts. The *Sultan* chased two French ships-of-war off the South Nicobars, but having very calm weather could not come up with them: one was a 20-gun ship. They both chased me the day before I fell in with the fleet, but I got from them by outsailing.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM KIRTON.

MADRAS ROADS,
The 29th March 1782.

A true copy,

THOS. KING SCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

To COLONEL GILBERT IRONSIDE, Commanding the 3rd Brigade.

SIR,—The 35th Regiment of sepoys having behaved in a very seditious and mutinous manner, and having refused to go upon a service for which they were ordered, and it being necessary by some exemplary and general punishment to strike at the root of an evil so subversive of military subordination and so big with danger in its consequences, I am to desire, in obedience to the command of the Governor-General and Council, that you will immediately on the arrival of this regiment, which has been ordered to your cantonment, dismiss the whole of it, both native officers and privates in the front of the 3rd Regiment and sepoy troops at your station in the most formal and ignominious manner by stripping them of their coats and obliging them to ground their arms.

Prior to this ceremony you will explain to the men of this regiment the cause of their dismission, and at the same time it is to be declared to them and to the other troops present, that this corps having lately been employed upon a service in which, by the indulgence and bounty of Government, they had amassed considerable property, had presumed upon the wealth thus acquired to refuse going upon any new duty, and aggravated their crime by ingratitude, that the Board, justly incensed at such conduct, have given peremptory orders

prohibiting the admission of these officers and men again into the army in any capacity whatever.

In order that the dismission of this regiment may be attended with as many disgraceful circumstances as possible, I would have it marched by companies, the native warrant officers (with halters about their necks) at the head of their respective companies, to some small distance from cantonments, the commandant, the two adjutants, and two Grenadier subadars, who are supposed to be the principal instigators of the mutiny, you will order into confinement.

A subadar of the name of Incha Sing, and any other of the warrant officers, or non-warrant officers or sepoys whom Captains Sparks or Hamilton can from their own positive knowledge acquit of being concerned in, or acquainted with this mutiny, may be exempted from the punishment and permitted to remain in the service, but they are to be particularly cautioned not to make this distinction in favour of any individual without a thorough conviction of his innocence.

The arms and clothing of the men dismissed from their regiments you will be pleased to order the quartermaster of the sepoy corps to lodge in the magazine, taking receipts from the Commissary for the same.

I am, &c.,

GILES STIBBERTS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 20th March 1782.

A true copy,

WILLIAM SCOTT.

To COLONEL GILBERT IRONSIDE, Commanding the 3rd Brigade.

SIR,—The same disinclination to proceed upon service which shewed itself in the 35th Regiment having also appeared in the corps at Barrackpore, and as it is to be apprehended that this mutinous spirit may have been infused into the native troops at your station, if the instructions regarding the dismission of that regiment have not already been complied with, I am to desire that they be carried into effect in the most extensive manner, and that the greatest circumspection be used in doing it.

As it probably may be found necessary to make more severe examples of these mutineers than directed by my letter of the 20th instant, I have further to desire that you will order into confinement a few of the men belonging to it, besides those you have already had instructions about, of whatever denomination, who are supposed to have been particularly forward in instigating the others to mutiny and sedition, and to the end that they may be brought to trial. You will endeavour to collect evidences for their prosecution by promising pardon and a continuance in the service to any men who will give such information as may establish their guilt.

I have just received a letter from Captain Hamilton at Nugardeep, in which he mentions a subadar and a jamadar as principal ringleaders; *these*, amongst others I beg may be seized.

I am, &c.,

GILES STIBBERTS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 22nd March 1782.

To MAJOR-GENERAL STIBBERTS, Commander-in-Chief.

SIR,—I have received your commands of the 20th and 22nd instant, as also the General Orders of the 20th instant, all respecting the reduction of the regiment of sepoys.

From the communication of the Government's intentions at Calcutta they became known two days ago at the city, but by the precautions taken to conceal them here no suspicion of the dissolution of the regiment arose amongst the sepoys, so that the blow has fallen upon them with its full effects, and I am pleased to inform you without the least bad accident.

Every part of your commands has been carried into execution in the most ignominious dismission of the 35th Regiment, both native officers and privates, in presence of all the troops at this station.

They were first disarmed; next the cause of their dismission proclaimed to them and to all the troops present; they were then stripped of their clothing, accoutrements, and devices; their colours torn and burnt; and halters tied about the necks of the warrant and non-warrant officers. Lastly, the whole were drummed out of the cantonments by the Rogues March and dispersed in different directions three coss round Berhampore.

The commandant, the two adjutants, and one Grenadier subadar (the commandant being the other), together with all those who are supposed to be instigators of the mutiny, are lodged in confinement.

The subadar named Incha Sing, together with other warrant and non-warrant officers and privates recommended by Captains Sparks and Hamilton, were exempted from the punishment and are continued in the service until your designation of them be known. They are formed into a particular body, under the care of an officer of the 14th Regiment.

I shall direct the European officers and serjeants to do duty in the regiments here till further orders, and divide the drums amongst the battalions that want them.

The arms, clothing, and accoutrements are lodged in the store with the Commissary of Ordnance, and receipts taken for the same.

Several evidences are collected for the prosecution of such of the prisoners as may be brought to trial and they are confined under separate guards.

Returns of the officers and men reserved, together with the prisoners and the evidences, shall be sent by the evening's post.

I do not detain this letter for them, but hurry it off express in hopes that it will arrive time enough to serve as an example for the prevention of any further disturbances at Barrackpore.

I have the honour, &c.,

GILBERT IRONSIDE.

BERHAMPORE,
The 25th March 1782.

Copy of General Orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief, 20th March 1782.

The 35th Regiment of Sepoys having behaved in a very seditious and mutinous manner, and having refused to go upon a service for which it was ordered, and it being necessary, by some exemplary and general punishment, to strike at the root of an evil so subversive of military subordination, and so big with danger in its consequences, the Board have thought proper to direct that whole of it, both native officers and sepoys, be dismissed in the most formal and ignominious manner in front of the troops stationed at Berhampore.

The Board have further desired that it be published to the army that this regiment having lately been employed upon a service in which, by the indulgence and bounty of Government, they had amassed considerable property, had presumed on the wealth thus acquired to refuse going upon any new duty, and aggravated their crime by ingratitude: that justly incensed at such conduct, they, in the most peremptory manner, prohibit the admission of these officers and men into the army again in any capacity whatever.

The Commander-in-Chief accordingly directs that this order be read and explained at the head of all the native corps of the army, and that the commanding officers of brigades, regiments, and battalions of sepoys pay the strictest attention to the spirit of it. The Commander-in-Chief further directs that commanding officers will, as far as lies in their power, prevent any communication between the corps under their command and the dismissed officers and men of this disgraced regiment, and that when any of them appears either in cantonments or camp they be turned out with marks of ignominy and contempt.

That the officers of the army may be acquainted with the names of the native officers who did belong to this regiment, a list of them will be published hereafter in General Orders.

A true copy,
WILLIAM SCOTT,
Secretary.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL,—My purpose for desiring to obtain the information contained in this letter was not to proceed in any fresh measures with respect to the sepoys, but to transmit an account of the facts by the ship then under despatch to the Court of Directors. But the letter was not sent in till after the close of the Packets, and, of course, was too late to make a part of our despatches.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 29th April 1782.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General.*

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

MR. WHELER, *indisposed.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 22nd instant.

Enclosed in a letter from the Government of Fort St. George.

To—J. HUDDLESTONE, Esq.

SIR,—Agreeable to His Lordship's instructions, I now transmit you every transaction that has reached my knowledge relative to the French since my being captured by them which was the 9th February.

After their taking His Majesty's Ship, the *Hannibal*, they found that two sail of the line and seven Indiamen were to leave St. Helena four or five days after the *Hannibal*, for which a consultation was called, whether it was best to proceed direct to Madras or to cruize off Acheen and to try to intercept them. Admiral Sufferin was for their cruize, but as Admiral D'Orves was then alive it was carried against Sufferin, for each Admiral has his party in the fleet. The French fleets made the land of the Armegon the 4th of February, and Admiral D'Orves died on the 9th February. It was a lucky circumstance for Madras they trifled their time away so long to the northward as they did, for they knew Admiral Sir Edward Hughes was not on the 4th at Madras by vessels they had captured, and were in great spirits, and were sure of being masters of the Carnatic in a short time. On the 15th in the morning we made Madras in great spirits, but about 8 in the morning being near, and seeing the English Admiral with nine sail of line of battle-ships, drawn up in a line with springs on their cables ready to receive them, their surprize was not little, and their courage was damped; they anchored and a consultation was held, and it was judged most

advisable to defer an attack, and to go to Porto Novo to land their troops and stores, Admiral Souffrein giving it as his opinion that should an accident happen in loss of masts it would distress them, they having no port or supplies to repair or refit. At 11 o'clock they weighed and stood to the southward. In the afternoon, seeing Admiral Hughes weigh and follow them, Admiral Souffrein by signal ordered all his transports ahead with the *Purveyeuse* and *Subtle* frigates as their convoy which was done; the convoy steered a long shore course all night and Souffrein steered south-east and south-east-by-east all night. At sunrise their convoy was not to be seen, but they saw the English squadron to the west-south-west, which had got between Souffrein and his transports, and in chase, which gave them great uneasiness, for they looked on their transports as gone; they made all the sail they were able after the English squadron, and were nearing them, which Sir Edward Hughes saw, and at noon called all his cruizers in and by 4 P. M. formed his line. But the French being at so great a distance no action took place that day; the next day the squadrons being at no great distance from each other, but light breezes and calms till 2 P. M. prevented their closing, when a breeze sprung up. The French ship which was to lead sailed heavy, which obliged Admiral Souffrein to lead himself, which he saw if he had not done no action would have been that day; at 10 minutes before 4 P. M. Admiral Souffrein begun the action by giving Commodore King a broadside, and crowded sail till he reached Admiral Hughes when he stopped and would not suffer any of his fleet to head him so that only five sail of the English squadron came into action, and had the whole of the twelve enemy's ships on them, and the fire of the French was exceeding heavy, but they began at too great a distance and before it was dark I was in great distress for Commodore King, for I expected he would have been cut off. A little before dark the *Brilliante* and the *Flamant* came up to the *Exeter* with an intention to board her; the Commodore gave her three broadsides (they being then at pistol shot) which killed and wounded 74 of the *Brilliante's* people and set her on fire, which made her sheer off, and after that the *Flamant* being on the other quarter, she made her sheer off likewise, which ended the engagement; it falling dark the French wore to the westward and made sail about three-quarters of an hour, then brought to for the whole night. In the morning saw nothing of the English squadron, the French then proceeded to Pondicherry. When we arrived there the French from the shore informed us that the English squadron passed the day before to the southward, and that three of the ships were dismasted, which I was afraid might be the case, though whilst it was light I saw none of our ships dismasted. The French got to Porto Novo on the 21st February, and on the 25th three of their transports joined them, and it was the 8th or 10th of March before they landed any of their stores and troops, being all that time settling matters with Hyder. On the 12th March they despatched my vessel, the *Betsy*, for Mauritius with a packet.

They landed at Porto Novo about one-half of their troops and stores that they brought from the islands, which was at first near 4,000 troops; 1,200 Europeans and 800 coffries were landed, the others being taken and fled to Point de Galle in the missing transports; on the 23rd March they suffered me to go on my parole to Tranquebar; on the 26th the French fleet passed Tranquebar to the southward, in all 22 sail; three of their transports were destined for Batavia, the others and the *Chaser* for the islands. On the 31st a Snow arrived at Tranquebar which they had captured. The Prize Master I knew, and he informed me that it was spoke with great confidence in their squadron when he left it, they at that time being at no great distance from Trincomallee, that Admiral Souffrein intended sending into Trincomallee seven sail of his line of battleships to batter the fort, and the other five to remain out.

About the 27th March a dispute arose between the French and Hyder's people at Chillumbrum Pagoda. The French wanted to hoist their colours on the Pagoda and the Reys. The Brahmin informed them he could not admit it without an order from his master, on which a French officer drew his sword and cut the Brahmin in two or three places, upon which an account was sent to Hyder: his answer was to turn them and their stores out of the Pagoda, which they did; and the French without the help of coolies were obliged to drag their cannon back to Porto Novo; the troops in general are greatly dissatisfied, and

are falling down; the water at Porto Novo is exceedingly bad. There are among the troops 400 or 500 Germans, who are determined the first opportunity to desert to the English.

The 4th instant Admiral Hughes appeared with his squadron standing to the southward, a small French cruizer, which came from the islands with packet and Souffrein's commission to the chief command. She was out three months from Europe to Mauritius; when she left the islands I don't know, but when she left it there were no men-of-war there; about six or seven transports there were. This small cruizer had left Tranquebar two days before to join Admiral Souffrein, but light winds and a strong northerly current she had made no progress, and on seeing the English squadron took it for their own, and stood towards them and that pretty near before she found her mistake; the *Monmouth* gave chase and run her on shore 2 miles to the southward of Tanquebar and burnt her. The people and packet got safe on shore. Sir Edward left Tranquebar the 6th in the morning, with a fine wind, in pursuit of the enemy, in the highest spirits, and I think I may pronounce without vanity that if both fleets meet Sir Edward will give a good account of Monsieurs. I went on board Sir Edward the 5th and gave him every information I could, and the winds which he has had since, it is my opinion he would reach Trincomallee the 9th or 10th at farthest.

I am, &c.,
DAVID PHILIPS.,

MADRAS,
The 12th April 1782.

A true copy,
THOS. KINGSCOTE,
Deputy Secretary.

From—SIR EYRE COOTE.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to inform you that I marched from the Mount in the morning of the 10th instant, and took up ground that day near Jamerum, from whence I yesterday moved to my present encampments having first ordered a party of cavalry to the Mount to escort to camp sixty thousand rupees which I was told was sent thither for the troops, and which the Pay-Master received 2 o'clock this morning; we have as yet seen only a few of the enemy's straggling horse, who did not come near enough to do us any mischief or receive it themselves. I shall halt here this day, and move again tomorrow morning unless something now unforeseen prevents me. I avail myself of the interim to acquaint you of some interesting intelligence which I have learnt.

Hyder continues at or near Jallah, a judicious situation. He may there be joined in a very short time by the French. He is there in readiness to check my operations, and from thence he may with equal pace go against Wandewash, Carangooly, or Permacoil. Tippoo with a pretty strong detachment from the main body is encamped on the banks of the river near Cuddalore. Hyder's own intentions were to have moved to the southward with a view to possess himself of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly countries, but a French officer of rank who arrived in his camp immediately after the fall of Cuddalore represented in a conference that it would be highly improper to attempt anything to the southward till they should be masters of Permacoil, Carangooly, and Wandewash. The Mahrattas have made great rejoicings on the arrival of the French in India, and Hyder has very lately received a letter from Nana Furness assuring him in the strongest terms that there will be no peace with the English; that something decisive for their mutual advantage will speedily take place, and that he may prosecute the war in the Carnatic with vigor and confidence. Let us now advert to our own situation relative to that of our enemies above stated. The weak state of this army is well known to you but the distresses which it has long suffered from want of money to pay off arrears is inconceiveable; of the accident which has happened to the *Active* frigate you will doubtless have heard; it will cause a very great delay in the receipt of those supplies which were expected by that conveyance, and I therefore trust that other means will be found of procuring cash for the support of the army, since without it you must be sensible how totally impossible it will be to carry on

the service at this very alarming crisis. Our sepoys are in such a state as renders every attention to them absolutely indispensable; they go off in numbers every day, no less than twenty-six, nineteen of whom are from Bengal, have deserted since the night I left the Mount, and there is no saying how long this spirit may prevail among them. Notwithstanding the number of Europeans I sent to the hospital the day before I marched we have now many carrying in doolies, and they seem to increase hourly. Under all these circumstances it behoves us to act with the utmost caution. We have an enemy to cope with superior to us in almost every respect, and although it were disgraceful by any want of exertion to betray our inferiority, yet, viewing in a just light our present real condition, and reflecting how much the reinforcements we expect must mend it, to attempt any vigorous operations would seem, if not rash, at least very injudicious.

On your part, My Lord and Gentlemen, I am persuaded no efforts within your reach will be wanting to enable the army to effect those purposes on which the honour and interests of the nation and the Company principally depend. I need not then recommend to you any particular attention to the care of His Majesty's 78th Regiment. I shall only apprize you it may be possible that I may have occasion for them at an hour's warning, and that I wish to have them held in readiness accordingly. Every assistance from Government will be requisite to equip them properly at their first setting out, and we shall be much distressed if a great number of dooly-boys, bearers, &c., are not timely provided. Your letter of the 10th instant reached me yesterday morning, mine to you of the 9th was as explicit as I could make it, and you will allow me to repeat that as we must expect casualties among the bullocks now with the army and ought to be prepared for every possible exigency, a certain number —Mr. Ross, the Agent, told me that he could not well feed more than 1,000— should be kept at Madras, and as many as can be procured without distressing the country and the subordinate settlements to the northward, from whence they may be sent for when wanted. The bullock people in camp not having received money for several months are driven to play tricks, which might prove of serious detriment to the service. However, I am endeavouring to detect some of them, and do not despair putting a stop to such practices.

My Lord and Gentlemen, I have a weight upon my shoulders that almost bears me down. Worn out in constitution I feel myself unequal to the constant fatigues and anxieties attending my situation. I shall, however, endeavour as far as lays in in my power to stem the torrent that seems almost ready to overwhelm us, not doubting of your exertions to assist my labours.

I have the honor, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

CAMP NEAR MANIMUSSGULAN,
The 12th April 1782.

A true copy,

THOS. KINGSCOTE.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 23rd May 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Received the following letter from Sir EDWARD HUGHES :—

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General in Council, Fort William.

Sir Edward Hughes, dated 1st May.

SIR AND GENTLEMEN,—In my letter to you of the 28th March last I informed you of the situation of His Majesty's squadron under my command, and of the enemy's under Monsieur Souffrein, as well as my intended operations.

On the 29th of that month I left Madras Roads with His Majesty's ships as per margin, and next day fell in with His Majesty's Ships *Sultan* and *Magnanime* and their convoy of seven of the Company's outward bound ships and a French prize. The convoy I immediately despatched to Madras Roads, and took with me the *Sultan* and *Magnanime*, steering a direct course for Trincomalee in order to land the military stores and reinforcement of troops for that garrison determined not to seek the enemy's squadron till that service was first performed, nor to shun them if they fell in my way.

"Superb."
"Exeter."
"Monarca."
"Monmouth."
"Worcester."
"Burford."
"Eagle."
"Hero."
"Isis."
"Seatterre."
Combustion fire-ship.

On the 8th March at noon I discovered the enemy's squadron consisting of 18 sail in the north-east quarter and continued my course for Trincomalee as before, the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the enemy's squadron in sight, and having on the 11th made the Island of Ceylon about 15 leagues to the southward of Trincomalee I bore away with His Majesty's squadron for that place.

On the 12th at daybreak having altered the position of the enemy's squadron and given them the wind by bearing away, I saw them crowding all the sail they could after us, and their coppered-bottom ships coming fast up with our rear, on which I immediately determined to engage them. At 9 in the forenoon I made the signal for the line of battle ahead on the starboard tack at two cables length distance, the enemy's squadron then bearing north by east, distant about 6 miles, and the wind at north by east they continued manœuvering their ships and changing their position in their line till 15 minutes past noon, when they bore down to engage His Majesty's squadron; 1 sail of them stretching along to engage our ships in the van, and the other 7 sail steering directly on our centre, the *Superb*, with the *Monmouth* her second ahead, and the *Monarca* her second astern; at half past 1 the engagement began in the van of both squadrons, and at three minutes after I made the signal for a general engagement; the French Admiral and his second astern bore down on the *Superb* within pistol shot where he continued giving and receiving a severe fire for nine minutes, and then stood on, greatly damaged, to attack the *Monmouth*, at that time engaged with another of the enemy's ships, and made room for the ships in his rear to draw up to the attack of our centre where the engagement was warmest. At 3 the *Monmouth* lost her main and mizzen-masts and drew out of the line to leeward of our squadron At 40 minutes past 3, being near the shore, I made the signal for the squadron to wear and haul their wind in a line of battle ahead on the larboard tack still engaging the enemy. At 40 minutes past 5, being in shoal water and fearing the *Monmouth* might drift too near shore, I made the signal for the squadron to prepare to anchor and hauled down the signal for the line of battle. At 40 minutes past 6 the enemy's squadron in great disorder drew off to the eastward, and the engagement ceased, at which time I anchored with His Majesty's squadron in order to repair our damages, which on board the *Superb* and *Monmouth* were very great indeed, both in their hulls, masts, sails, and rigging, nor had any one ship of the squadron escaped without great injury in her hull and masts, and all were much torn in their sails and rigging. The list of the killed and wounded on board the several ships follows :—

Killed.

"Superb"	2 lieutenants, 1 master, and 56 seamen, &c.	59
"Exeter"	4 seamen, &c.	4
"Monmouth"	45 Do.	45
"Monarca"	7 Do.	7
"Worcesteer"	1 lieutenant and 7 seamen, &c.	8
"Burford"	6 seamen, &c.	6
"Hero"	2 Do.	2
"Isis"	6 Do.	6
	Total killed	137

Wounded.

"Superb"	Officers and men	96
"Exeter"	Do.	40
"Magnanime"	Do.	7
"Monmouth"	Do.	102
"Monarca"	Do.	28
"Worcester"	Do.	26
"Burford"	Do.	36
"Eagle"	Do.	22
"Hero"	Do.	13
"Sultan"	Do.	9
"Isis"	Do.	51
	Total wounded	430

On the morning of the 13th at daylight I saw the enemy's squadron anchored in great disorder and apparent distress without ours about 5 miles, but they had lost no lower masts. Both squadrons were busily employed in drawing into order for defence, they apprehending an attack from ours, and I myself uncertain if they would not endeavour to renew the action that they might get hold of the *Monmouth*. In this situation, at the same time repairing their damages, both squadrons continued at anchor till the 19th in the morning, when the enemy's got under weigh and stood to leeward, and about noon put about and stood in for the body of our squadron as if with intent to attack, but after coming within 2 miles of it and finding it properly prepared to receive them, they again tacked and stood to the eastward on a wind, and I have not since been able to learn where they are gone, but hope to Porto Novo.

By this time the survey had made such progress on board the *Sultan* and *Magnanime*, as well as the *Hero*, *Monmouth*, and *Isis*, that the ships were scarce in a condition to defend themselves, and our wounded on board several of the ships threatened a contagious disease from their heat and stench. Under these circumstances I ordered the combustion fire-ship to be fitted for receiving on board the worst of the wounded men, and sent 400 of them in her to be landed and taken care of at Trincomalee, and having got up jury, main, and mizzen-masts on board, the *Monmouth* sailed with His Majesty's squadron for this place on the 22nd, and anchored here in the evening of the same day immediately landing the reinforcement and military stores destined for the garrison.

At this place 1,462 sick and wounded men have been landed from the several ships of the squadron, and I am sorry to inform you 110 of them have already died, and I fear for the lives of many more, although every possible care is taken of them. Many of the men affected with the scurvy recover fast, and I am in hopes in three weeks or a month's time, I shall be able to get seven or eight hundred of them sufficiently recovered to return to their respective ships, but till this is effected I am sorry to inform you the squadron is in no condition to proceed on any service, several of the ships, the *Sultan*, *Magnanime*, and *Monmouth* in particular not having 30 working men in each of them. In the mean time all the artificers of the squadron able to work are closely employed in making a mainmast for the *Monmouth* and fishing the damaged masts of the other ships of the squadron. I am sorry to inform you that the transports from the Malabar Coast have not yet arrived here, and more so that His Majesty's squadron under my command, as I have already informed you, is in no condition at this time to cruize for their protection. If the enemy's squadron be cruizing to the southward, the danger of the transports falling into their hands is certainly great; if not on that station I shall expect them here in safety in a few days. Be the event what it will I am conscious of my having done everything in my power for the public service.

I have the honor to be,

Sir and Gentlemen, &c.,

EDWARD HUGHES.

"SUPERB," IN TRINCOMALEE BAY,
The 1st May 1782.

Fort William, the 6th June 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE, COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

To THE RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY,

MY LORD,—It being settled that the letter which I have now the honour to send to Your Lordship shall be considered as a private letter from one gentleman to another, I trust Your Lordship will admit it as such and excuse any informality or abruptness in the style. Since I have been a prisoner I have suffered much from sickness and extreme heat, but have received from the Brahmins who manage the Behander's business such assistance and relief that I recover my health every day; cloth and money have been sent to me by the Sircar, and I am permitted to purchase things in the French bazaar, but it being thought necessary to keep me a close prisoner I hear no news whatever, and my not hearing anything of our army gives me great uneasiness. I have often been sent for by the Brahmins above mentioned, and at these times as they are very good men we have talked like private friends upon the unhappy and ruined state of the country and the remaining few inhabitants, and it was with sorrow we observed the country to be three parts depopulated and destroyed, scarcely indeed one-fourth of the inhabitants or of cultivation now remaining. In the course of these conversations it occurred to us how melancholy a thing it was for the people that two such great powers as the English and the Behander should be at war, both rich and powerful in so great a degree that there appeared to be no end to the contention. The English having the sea open to them there was no end of their supplies of men, money, and provisions. The Behander having the whole country open behind him could also be furnished with men, money, and provisions. so that it was elephant fighting against elephant: sometimes one would appear to get the better, sometimes the other, though in truth both would get worse: no prospect of anything decisive to end a war between such great powers, but the ruin of the poor people and country certain. What a pity it was that the friendship formerly subsisting between these now powerful enemies could not be restored? Every good effect might be expected from such a friendship. I observed that I wished much from humanity that it were possible to make a peace between the English and the Behander could I see how it would be effected consistently with the honour of both, but that I feared it was impossible, as to my knowledge the English had been making such vast preparations for carrying on this war with vigor, which would be now daily arriving, that it could not but be expected that they would employ them. The Brahmins observed how was the Behander to be satisfied for the great expenses he had been at. I replied how were the English to be satisfied for the expenses they had been at, how indemnified for the ruin of this country which cannot be repaired in ten years; in short, we both saw difficulties on every side but hoped that a lasting friendship between such great powers might be deemed a superior consideration; as both were able to carry on the war many difficulties occurred to prevent a peace. The English were rich and powerful. The Behander was rich and powerful, no end on either side of the means for carrying on the war, but if peace could be made it would be charity to stop the ruin and desolation as soon as possible. From mere humanity to the distresses of the inhabitants I write this letter to Your Lordship, and I sincerely wish this beginning may produce a strong and lasting friendship between the English and the Behander and thereby relieve the distresses of the people, and I venture to hope for an answer from Your Lordship, indulging me with your sentiments as a private gentleman, by which I shall judge whether there is room to expect such an event, and the Brahmins will perceive whether they can do anything in

the business as they say as yet that the Behander knows nothing of these conversations. We have had many as private friends; the last was this day when they gave me leave to send my servant to camp and to Madras with letters. I shall add that from what I see of the Behander's power and greatness, I am convinced that the Brahmins act like myself solely from the motives of humanity to the poor people, and I shall feel myself very happy if the liberty I have taken should finally tend to relieve them.

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that I am permitted to send a counterpart of this letter to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

JOHN BRATHWAITE.

CAMP NEAR PERMACOIL,
The 30th April 1782.

A true copy,
THOS. KINGSCOTE,
Deputy Secretary.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, &c.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—In the last letter I had the honour to write you I informed you of the enemy's having laid siege to Permacoil. Notwithstanding all the supplies I had sent for to the Presidency had not arrived, nor the detachment I had sent to the Mount yet returned, having received further intelligence of Hyder's resolution to press the attack upon that place with all possible vigor, and of his intention also to go against Wandewash, that the effects of my moving to the southward might be produced as early as possible, on the 16th in the morning I advanced the 2nd Brigade with His Majesty's 78th Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, a few miles, sending under their convoy a large proportion of our provisions and stores. In the course of the day the detachment with the remainder of our supplies arriving from the Mount enabled me to put in execution my resolution of following with the main body on the 17th in the morning, and of joining the advance under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart at the present ground of encampment, which I accomplished yesterday about noon. I intended proceeding again this morning and to have endeavoured by a forced march to have crossed the Palar, as the intelligence I had received from the commanding officer at Carangooly by two letters of the 16th alarmed me exceedingly for the safety of Permacoil. But to my no small mortification the monsoon broke in upon us about 12 o'clock last night with a squall and heavy rain which levelled almost every tent in camp. The weakness of our carriage cattle to transport the provisions and camp equipage in its wet state rendered it absolutely necessary to postpone our march for two or three hours until the tents should be a little dry, but the rain set in with redoubled violence and has continued throughout the whole day which has put a total stop to my moving, for which I had kept everything in readiness. I trust, however, that the weather will clear up and that I shall be able to march tomorrow morning. But I fear much our losses in bullocks will be heavy as their strength will have been considerably impaired by the severity of last night and this day, nor does it appear that this night will be free from rain, so that the fatigue of a march will most probably cause the death of many. In the course of yesterday's march, by the extreme heat of the weather and the great want of water, 4 men of His Majesty's 78th Regiment died on the road and about 60 were taken up sick, and not less than from 80 to 100 sepoys in each battalion fell down. They have all been brought up, but were we to encounter three or four other such days accompanied with the same inconvenience on the score of water, the army would diminish so much in its effective strength as to be inadequate to any grand operations. It was my intention on this occasion to have furnished you with similar returns of the bullocks and of the supplies now received as I had done of the former, but the nature and quickness of my movements, added to the badness of the weather, have rendered it impossible to take musters. I fear, however, a great deficiency will be again found in the carriage cattle in the department of the grain-keeper as there was

not found carriage sufficient to bring the rice off the ground yesterday morning although by every previous calculation we had made of their numbers there appeared to be enough. This obliged me to leave some in Vencata's Pollam and to put a bag or two on each tumbril and piece of ordnance in the line. These, however, are expedients which cannot be adopted on all occasions and what we ought not to be subjected to at a time so critical, and when everything may depend on the celerity of our motions in particular in the artillery department. That we might as soon as possible be free from every unnecessary incumbrance, and that you might not be long deprived of an opportunity of employing the services of the coolies in sending grain to Chingleput, which is of the last importance, I send them this morning with an escort to that place to deposit their loads and return with all expedition. I also sent on all the sick of the army. Alarmed as I am for the safely of Permacoil, I cannot in justice to myself omit observing that had I either been able to have kept my position at Chingleput, or returned to it with that expedition, I equally wished and expected, that garrison could not have been exposed to its present danger. I had written thus far intending then to have despatched my letter, but purposely deferred it in the hope of being able to apprize you of my marching, but the rain has continued to fall with unusual violence and almost without the smallest intermission. Whilst thus obliged to halt I directed the Quartermaster-General to endeavour to collect returns of our losses in bullocks and grain in the department of grain-keeper; he in consequence delivered to me such as he has been able to obtain, of which the enclosed are copies, whereby you will perceive that the loss of bullocks in the grain employ by casualities since the last muster are reported to be 519, of which not above one-third, if I recollect right, were dismissed by the last return, so that the other two-thirds are real losses to both the Company and the service which are equally destitute of the means of compensation, because the system is without any established responsibility. You will also observe that in a "*N. B.*" annexed to one of the returns it appears Mr. William Ross should have sent to Mr. Erskine, the grain-keeper, two carts loaded with tarpaulins, but which he reports he had never received. One or other of these gentlemen must clear themselves to the public, who are not only likely to suffer present loss by the quantity of rice damaged for want of those necessary protections against the weather, but by the injury the service must receive from any diminution of the supplies of this army to which a day's rice more or less may decide the fate of the British Empire in India, which I have repeatedly declared, and I believe it is generally allowed, hinges entirely upon the successful operations of the handful of men now under my command and with whom I have hitherto been so fortunate as to support the honour of the British arms, notwithstanding I have been without magazines any where (except the Presidency, towards which I have on every occasion been obliged to move the whole army) to have recourse to, and without the country to which my operations have been limited, being in a capacity to afford me the smallest assistance. To conduct a war under these circumstances (to which may be added the heavy arrears due to the troops) and that too against a formidable, vigilant, and active enemy, whose resources are ample in every respect, to attempt what to every reasonable and impartial mind must appear an impossibility. Whilst we had no European enemy to oppose, whilst we could command the Coast and thereby had the communication by sea open to convey supplies, and whilst we had a force to the southward on which I could depend for any co-operation tending to favour and facilitate the movements of this army, I did not consider our situation, although a most embarrassed one, as without the chance of retrieval; but now that the French are arrived in force, and neither of those rays of light are open to us owing to the late disaster which befell the detachment in the Tanjore country, and the superiority by sea being yet undecided, I confess it appears to me desperate, the more especially as I observe the Bombay Government have suspended for the present all offensive operations against Hyder on the other Coast, and from whence the most favourable effects were to be expected to our affairs here. Add to this my being disappointed in the reinforcement I looked to from the coming of His Majesty's troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Humberston on the transports now arrived. As I have received no information *whatever* from that officer, I know not his motives for declining the opportunity which he thereby had of coming round. I can ascribe it to no other

cause than the doubt which may have arisen as to the substance of the letters from the Admiral and myself, which I am informed he had received but could not read owing to their being in cypher. If this be the case I have only to regret that the channel through which I understood these dispatches were to be forwarded (purposely to obviate what is said to have happened) has not been adhered to. I have ever believed them to have been transmitted to the Resident at Anjengo, who being possessed of the cypher was either to have opened and decyphered them, or to have accompanied them with a copy of the cypher. All the foregoing circumstances combined serve strongly to testify the justice of the opinion I have already given of the very existence of the British interests in India depending entirely upon the fate of this army. I enclose you copy of a letter I have received this instant from the officer in command at Carangooly, which, you will observe, conveys the disagreeable news of Percamoil being given up to the French on the 17th in the morning. Some intelligence I have myself received from Hyder's camp tend to corroborate that account, and further say that the French had joined Hyder on his consenting to put under their command eight thousand sepoys, together with what artillery and stores they might stand in need of. It is likewise settled that as the present mode of obtaining provisions is very uncertain, they draw their supplies from Hyder's magazine at Chillumbrum. These occurrences give our affairs a more gloomy aspect than ever. I shall march tomorrow if I possibly can, and pursue with caution and to the best of my judgment such steps as in the present most important crisis may seem most for our interests.

I request that a copy of this letter may be immediately forwarded to the Governor-General and Council for their information. I have received intelligence of Hyder's having ordered a body of horse and infantry to Conjeveram, perhaps with the same view as the late detachment under Kerrum Sahib and to impede the sending of supplies to Chingleput.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

CAMP NEAR CHINGLEPUT,
The 19th May 1782.

A true copy,

THOS. KINGSCOTE.

Deputy Secretary.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 706 F. D.—25-5-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 4th July to 12th September 1782.

Secret Department.

Thursday.

Fort William, the 4th July 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

MR. MACPHERSON, *indisposed.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the proceedings of the 24th ultimo.

Enclosed in the letter from SIR EYRE COOTE, dated the 11th June.

To the RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B., President and Governor, &c.; Select Committee, Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I had the honour of informing you on the 3rd instant of the victory gained over the force of Hyder Ally Cawn on the 2nd, of which I shall now do myself the pleasure of giving you a more circumstantial account, conformably to the sentiments which I expressed in my letter of the 1st instant. On the 2nd, in the morning, I marched towards Arni, satisfied that, as the original movement in that direction had drawn Hyder from his position with the French at the Red Hills, it was the most certain method of bringing him to an action. The consequence verified the justness of my ideas, for about 8 o'clock in the morning and just as the advanced guard had reached the ground on which I intended to encamp contiguous to the fort, a very brisk though distant cannonade opened upon our rear, and before it was possible for me to extricate ourselves from the disagreeable situation in which the line then was by the baggage being on the flank towards the enemy and in a hollow with commanding ground all round, a heavy fire had opened upon us from every quarter in front, whilst they endeavoured to annoy our rear by a fire from the fort. I immediately ordered the baggage to be halted in the best situation which could be found in an open plain, and stationed with it for its protection five battalions of sepoys, the whole of the cavalry corps, and all my own body-guard, excepting the European troop. I then ordered the army to move out in two lines and to advance towards that part of the rising ground on which the enemy appeared in greatest force, and so soon as we got upon ground that would admit of it to form in one line and to advance upon the enemy. Owing to a great extent of wet paddy fields which the first line had to cross before this manœuvre could be completed, I saw that a considerable time must elapse, and that the enemy might gain possession of a village which was so centrical as to command every part of our line and also the baggage. To obviate this danger the second line under Colonel Lang, being more favourably situated, I ordered it immediately to advance and to form in the rear of that post and to throw into the village some pieces of cannon as well to check the progress of the enemy who were coming down in large bodies, both of cavalry and infantry, as to cover the first line in crossing the paddy fields. It had the desired effect, as it not only checked their fire but obliged them to retire. By the time the first line had crossed the paddy fields and formed on the left of the second, I received a message from Lieutenant-Colonel Elphinstone, who commanded the rear guard with which

by my orders he had occupied a favourable post on the banks of a tank, for covering the assemblage of the baggage, to acquaint me that it appears to him the enemy's main strength in infantry and guns were inclining to the right as if with an intention to force his party, whilst a large body of cavalry were standing by in seeming readiness to fall upon the baggage, and that if they persevered in what he had conceived to be their intention, it would be impossible for him effectually to secure the baggage against assault. This rendered an alteration in my original disposition necessary. I therefore ordered the first line to pass in the rear of the second and to form on its right, and the rear guard under Colonel Elphinstone to join and to form on the right of the first line, and then the whole to advance in line of battle. These movements were performed by the different corps with the greatest celerity and correctness, and we advanced with spirit and eagerness. The enemy no sooner observed us in motion towards them then they retreated. We continued advancing for upwards of two miles, when, perceiving large bodies of cavalry with some infantry and guns passing to the right and left of our line for the evident purpose of getting to our rear to attack the baggage, I sent orders for it to be brought up under the cover of our line, which being then in possession of the heights originally occupied by the enemy, I ordered it to halt for that purpose. The enemy, believing we had given up the pursuit, took possession of the ground of encampment which we had marched from in the morning, and which was more commanding than that we halted upon. From thence they renewed the cannonade with very little effect, and which we returned only as we found them advance their cannon so as to do certain execution. Two heavy guns which were so situated as to enfilade our left wing were the only ones which did us any material injury. After having halted for upwards of an hour, the baggage had come near enough to admit of our again advancing, which we accordingly did and with great rapidity, although the enemy were above a mile ahead of us and retreated as you may suppose with but little regularity. In the course of three miles, we came pretty close upon part of their rear composed of regular infantry in crossing a small river, of which as they had gained the opposite bank and made a show of resistance I ordered a fire to be opened upon them. Upon observing more attentively it was perceived that they had halted to cover the crossing of some of their guns or tumbrels then in the bed of the river. Being at this time advanced considerably beyond the ground of encampment we had left in the morning, I sent orders for the baggage to assemble at a place contiguous thereto which had been reconnoitred for it the preceding day, and for the cavalry as soon as they could be dispensed with to join me. In the interim I ordered the grenadiers of the 73rd under the Hon'ble Captain Lindsay supported by the other European corps and a Bengal regiment of sepoys under Major Blaine to push across the river and to drive the enemy from the opposite banks, which was performed with great alacrity and spirit by the whole of the corps, and with the most exemplary ardour by the grenadiers of the 73rd who led the attack, and who received a scattered fire of musketry from the enemy as they approached. They gave way on all sides and left us in possession of one gun, a long brass six-pounder, five tumbrels full of ammunition, and two carts of shot. The corps continued the pursuit with great eagerness until they had gone upwards of a mile beyond the river, but could not come up with the enemy. However, they pressed them so close that it is out of doubt could even half our small body of cavalay been employed that day with the line, or had it been possible for them after receipt of my orders to have joined me in time, not only more guns would have been taken but the whole or greatest part of Lally's corps have fallen into our hands. When the cavalry did join, the enemy had so dispersed and had got to so great a distance, that no attempt could be made upon them with the smallest prospect of success. Whilst these services were performed by the most forward corps of the first line, the remainder thereof continued on the banks of the river ready to support them, if necessary, and the second line was halted on the ground of encampment to cover the approach of the baggage and to support the guard with it, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Owen, if required. Towards the rear of our left wing the enemy attempted to annoy the baggage by a distant cannonade from some heavy guns, but without effect; a very formidable body of cavalry came at the same time with an apparent resolution to

make a desperate charge upon the rear and to break in upon the baggage, but a brisk and well directed fire from the cavalry guns effectually checked their progress, and totally frustrated their views, although no country (being open and extensive) could be more favourable for horse to act upon. The whole baggage having been thus protected and secured and the advanced corps having returned from the pursuit between five and six in the evening, the army was all encamped before dark on the same ground it had marched from in the morning. Considering that the first movement of the army commenced at four in the morning and that its most laborious operations were performed during an intensely hot day, and with the most unparalleled courage and cheerfulness, the praise due to every rank in it, both officers and men, is far beyond what can be expressed,—at least such is the sense I entertain of their exertions as to place their merit infinitely above the reach of any encomiums of mine. I have in general orders paid them the tribute of my hearty thanks and applause, and I am happy in this opportunity of recommending them as highly deserving of every attention or indulgence in the power of your Government to bestow on them. What renders our success on this occasion the more pleasing is the smallness of our loss, which you will observe by the enclosed return of killed and wounded is as follows:—Europeans killed, 3 non-commissioned rank and file; wounded, 2 lieutenants, 1 cornet, 6 non-commissioned rank and file. Natives, killed 10, wounded, 44. Killed 6 horses, wounded 1. In all Europeans and natives killed, wounded, and died of fatigue 74, horses 7. The excessive heat of the weather was most felt by His Majesty's 78th Regiment, the officer, the Hon'ble Lieutenant Temple, and the 7 rank and file returned as above to have died of fatigue, belonged to it. Its effective strength now in the field is not one-third of what it was when it marched from St. Thome on the 25th of April last. The other European corps, both infantry and artillery, have suffered severely from sickness, the consequence of hard duty and the inclemency of the weather. The enemy's loss I have not been able to obtain any certain account of, but I do not conceive it could have been considerable. We captured between thirty and forty horses of all kinds. It has been by misfortune ever since I took the field, on the event of every success, to have cause to lament my inability to pursue the advantages open from victory for want of a sufficiency of provisions. On the present occasion, had I possessed the means of subsistence, I could not only have driven Hyder up the Ghauts, but most probably have got hold of his grand magazine of Arni which would most assuredly have so far ended the war as to have checked his immediately returning in force to the Carnatic, whilst it would have given to this army that very support which at this moment maintains his. The subsequent movements of this army have been communicated to you down to the 6th in my letter from Weyopondle. On the 7th, in the morning, I marched to Trivatore where from the informations given me I had reason to expect to find some grain, but was disappointed. I halted on the 8th to refresh both our people and cattle. The latter from fatigue and want of forage have suffered severely. I shall send you a return of casualties in the carriage department as soon as the reports of the musters I have ordered are delivered to me. On the 8th, in the evening, a most unfortunate accident happened to our grand guard owing to a young officer who commanded it having more spirit than conduct. I shall send you the particulars in my next. I marched from Trivatore to this place on the 9th and found the Europeans falling down so fast and in such numbers that two or three days' halt had become absolutely necessary to give them time to recover, and to check the progress of a sickness which threatened to be universal.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Sd.) EYRE COOTE.

CAMP WANDEWASH,
The 11th June 1782.

A true copy.
GEORGE TYLER,
Assistant Secretary.

Enclosed in the letter from Fort St. George, dated the 14th June 1782.

SIR,—The first object of our march to the southward was to raise the siege of Permacoil, but before we crossed the Palar, we heard of the fall of that important place, the army then moved to Carongooly and from thence to Wandewash, where we had an imperfect view from the top of a rock of Hyder's camp. After a day's halt we proceeded by easy marches within thirteen miles of the enemy, where we had a full view of the French and Hyder, their right to Theclure and their left extending towards the Red Hills. It was the general opinion that Sir Eyre meant to attack them, but he certainly acted a more prudent part, for it was too great a risk to put the fate of everything to a battle by attacking them in a strong fortified camp with every Frenchman that could crawl or was able to stand behind a breastwork. After two days' halt we proceeded in a direct route to Chelliput in hopes of drawing our enemy out where we might fight them upon more equal terms. From Chelliput we moved to Arni and about four miles from that place Hyder by forced marches came up with our rear. As usual he commenced a distant cannonade. As soon as we could dispose of our baggage in a proper situation we came to the right about and formed our line. As every precaution was necessary, as the country was entirely open, it of course took much time in posting a guard properly to save the baggage. Our first line then advanced and the enemy instantly gave way. As they had a river in their rear we were in hopes of coming up with some part and pushed on at a full run for near two miles; had we had any light corps at that time I am of opinion that many of his guns must have fallen into our hands, and we should certainly have cut off some of his rear corps, but unfortunately the cavalry was with the baggage, and the line too much fatigued to pursue the enemy further. We took, however, one gun, five tumbrels, and two carts loaded with shot, and I must own I never saw our troops push with so much ardour, nor the enemy behave so truly despicable. We encamped the next day close to Arni and I do think that had we brought battering cannon we should have taken it. Hyder's motion during the time we lay near that place seemed to indicate his uneasiness at our situation. We at length decamped and our advanced came up with Hyder's rear. On the march his line was seen, but nothing happened on either side. He pushed off for Arni, and we the next day encamped at Trivatore. We halted yesterday in consequence of the fatigue of the preceding day's march. We were alarmed yesterday between two and three in the afternoon by a firing at the outposts. The enemy had certainly formed an ambuscade, and sent small parties to entice some of our outposts to advance. At length the grand guard consisting of McCallister's regiment of cavalry took the bait, and proceeded near two miles on the plain beyond their station. The enemy then thought they were at a distance from any support, and would be able to effect their purpose; a body of cavalry of about 3,000 or 4,000 rushed from the topes and cover that was adjacent, and in an instant rushed upon the grand guard and swept them away like a torrent. An officer, Mr. Burrows, with six or seven men were all that escaped, Lieutenant Cruitzer who commanded (McCallister being in arrest) is taken prisoner with his guns, cavalry, light infantry, &c.; between 60 and 70 men were left killed and wounded on the spot. I was on the ground in less than 15 minutes after the affair, and saw these miserable objects. The regiment behaved exceedingly well, maintained their ground with a steady and regular fire, until bore down by numbers many of them fell at the muzzle of our guns. Lieutenant Cruitzer, though he got himself into a bad situation by imprudently advancing too far, behaved with great firmness to extricate himself, but too late, and Colonel Stuart who was nearly taken prisoner with the grand guard declares that no men in the world could have behaved better than Cruitzer and his regiment. We left Trivatore this morning, and what our next motions are to be I really cannot tell you. However, I wish you would send me any news from Madras, and I will always return your people with the occurrences of the camp. Your hircarrahs arrived at 12 o'clock yesterday, and I intended to have dispatched them in the afternoon, but I was on horse back till late in the evening, and then too much fatigued to write. I send you this scrawl in such a hurry, that I am afraid you will not understand it, but you must excuse it, as I have been very busy. I intended to have sent you more particulars

but have not time, unless I was to detain your men until to-morrow. The country we have been through is cultivated in many parts. The villages full of inhabitants. We have got some grain and plenty of cattle, in short we have lived very well this trip and suffered nothing but from the intense heat which surpasses any thing I ever felt.

Yours, &c.

Killed, wounded, and dead of fatigue the day that Hyder attacked our rear amounted to sixty odd.

CAMP AT WANDEWASH,
The 9th June 1782.

Enclosed in the letter from Fort St. George, dated the 14th June 1782.

From Wandewash we moved towards Tondewanum; it was then reported Hyder and the French fell back towards the Red Hills. We then moved to Chittapet which refused to surrender, from thence towards Arni. After we passed the river between Arni and Chittapet and were just near Arni, Hyder crossed the river in our rear. The second opened his heavy guns on our rear about 7 o'clock, the baggage secured and our line formed; a distant cannonade was kept up by him from very heavy guns; about 10 o'clock the army advanced upon him at a full run; the army in one line and chased him from height to height for upwards of three miles, till we finally drove him over the river where we took one gun and five tumbrels. Our loss this day was trifling. He attacked the baggage defended by the cavalry and five battalion of sepoys with about 11,000 men without success. His principal loss this day was here, but no where very capital. The 4th we encamped before Arni; the 6th we came within sight of Hyder's rear guard near Trivatore moving towards Arni. The 8th Hyder decoyed out our grand guard commanded by Lieutenant Cruitzer and completely cut them off; they consisted of about 70 troopers, two 3-pounders, and two companies light infantry. This accident happened owing to the imprudence of the officer advancing from his post about one mile when he was surrounded by 3,000 chosen horse. However, the men fought desperately. Cruitzer behaved gallantly, he is prisoner. Colonel Stuart, the Field Officer of the day, joined them just as they were surrounded, but cut his way through.

We have no other occurrence worth mentioning. Pray send this to Kennedy with the enclosed. We are now encamped here. I cannot tell our future movements.

CAMP AT WANDEWASH,
The 10th June 1782.

Yours, &c.

Secret Department,
Thursday.

Fort William, the 8th August 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 5th instant.

Received the following letter from Fort St. George together with its enclosures, *viz.*, a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and copy of the pro-

ceedings of His Majesty's squadron under his command against that of the French on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of July, to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George. The enclosures are not entered as they only contain the substance of Sir Edward Hughes' letter to this Government.

Read the following letter and enclosure from Sir Edward Hughes.

Superb, off Negapatam, 15th July 1782.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received your letter of the 16th May last, accompanied by copy of your letter to the Select Committee of Bombay of the like date, and agree with you in thinking that it would be for the good of the public service that I was timely made acquainted with every plan of operation in the execution of which either my orders or the co-operation of His Majesty's squadron under my command is necessary; from the want of such timely information of your intentions regarding Colonel Humberston and His Majesty's land forces on the Malabar Coast I joined with Sir Eyre Coote in ordering His Majesty's armed transport to re-embark the troops and proceed with them to this coast, and our joint orders did reach Colonel Humberston, but being in cypher No. 10, of which the subordinate factories of Anjengo and Tellicherry had no copy, they could not be decyphered and therefore were of no effect, and Colonel Humberston still continues with the troops upon the Malabar Coast. Captain Smith who commanded the armed transports, however, thought it his duty from former orders to proceed with them to join me at Trincomali, which he would have effected to the great advantage of the public service had he not fallen in with the French squadron off Ceylon, a part of which chased the transport and obliged them to bear away for Madras roads, and I am sorry to inform you two of them, the *Resolution* and *Raikes*, have since been captured by the enemy in endeavouring to join me at Trincomali.

My last letter to you was dated the 1st May, in which I gave you an account of the engagement between His Majesty's squadron under my command and the French squadron under the command of Monsieur Souffrein on the 12th of the preceding month; and I have now to inform you that having in Trincomali Bay refitted the several ships of the squadron and taken on board such of our recovered men as could be serviceable, I sailed from that place on the 24th of last month and anchored the next day in Negapatam Roads to watch the motions of the enemy's squadron.

On the 5th of this month they came in sight and on the day following I had a severe engagement with them, the more particular account of which is herewith enclosed, and I am happy to inform you that in the last engagement His Majesty's squadron gained a decided superiority over that of the enemy, and, had not the wind shifted, and thrown a part of our squadron out of the action, at the very time that some of the enemy's ships had broken their line and were runing away and others of them greatly disabled, I have great reason to believe that it would have ended in the capture of some of their line of battle-ships.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, most sincerely on the peace concluded between the Company and the Mahrattas, of which I was informed yesterday by the Commandant of Negapatam who had received an official letter from the Presidency of Fort St. George to that effect.

As the provisions and ammunition of the squadron are now nearly expended and every ship in the greatest want of stores, I shall in a few days proceed with the squadron for Madras Roads for a full supply of every article wanted for further service.

I have heard with infinite regret of the capture of the *Yarmouth* and *Fortitude* by the enemy's frigates. At this rate and under such management the enemy will be fully supplied with every article they stand in need of, which ought most carefully to be guarded against, but which is totally out of my power to do, having only the *Seahorse* 20-gun ship with me, and she absolutely necessary to the squadron to repeat my signals in time of action. The change of the

Active's destination by the Presidency of Fort St. George and contrary to my express orders has left me without a cruizer able to cope with the enemy's frigates unless I was to send a line-of-battle ship which cannot now be spared from the strength of the squadron.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Sd.) EDWARD HUGHES.

An account of the transactions of His Majesty's squadron in the East Indies under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, *on the 5th, 6th and 7th of July 1782.*

Of the line.
- *Superb.*
- *Hero.*
- *Magnanime.*
- *Monmouth.*
- *Monarca.*
- *Burford.*
- *Eagle.*
- *Exeter.*
- *Sultan.*
- *Worcester.*
- *Isis.*

Frigate *Seahorse.*

On the 5th of July 1782 His Majesty's squadron as per margin were at anchor in Negapatam Roads for the purpose of watching the motions of the French squadron which had anchored in Cuddalore Roads about twenty-two leagues to the northward of Negapatam.

At 1 o'clock P.M. the French squadron as per margin came in sight; at 3 P.M. the land wind unexpectedly continuing and the enemy rearing us past, I made the signal for sailing, at 5 minutes after made the signal to weigh, at 30 minutes past 3 weighed with the whole squadron and stood to the south-eastward close on a wind; at 6 made the signal and tacked with the squadron and continued standing off and on all night.

Line-of-battle ships.
- *Hero.*
- *Hannibal.*
- *L'Orient.*
- *Brilliant.*
- *Severe.*
- *Ajax.*
- *Bizare.*
- *Vengeur.*
- *Sphynx.*
- *Artisien.*
- *Flamband.*
- *English Hannibal.*

Frigates.
- *La Tine.*
- *Bellona.*
- *Nayid.*
- *Diligent.*

On the 6th at day-light the enemy's squadron at anchor bearing north-north-east, distant about 7 or 8 miles, wind south-west; at 50 minutes past 5 A.M. I made the signal for the line of battle abreast and bore away towards the enemy; at 6, observing the enemy getting under sail and standing to the westward, hauled down the signal for the line of battle abreast and made the signal for the line of battle ahead at two cables length distance. At 10 minutes past 7 our line being well formed, made the signal to bear down upon the enemy, each ship in our line against the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line; at 20 minutes past 8 the enemy's squadron tacked with their heads to the south-eastward, their van ships first and so on along the line. I then hauled down the signal to bear down upon the enemy and hauled to the wind; at 15 minutes past 9 the enemy's van having stretched along as far as our rear made the signal for the line to tack the rear; to tack first, at 25 minutes past 9 finding the enemy passed fast by our line I made the signal for the whole line to tack together; our line having all tacked at 45 minutes past 9 I made the signal again to bear down upon the enemy, each ship in our line against the ship opposite to her in the enemy's line; at 40 minutes past 10 the enemy's line began to fire at ours; at 45 minutes past 10 I made the signal for battle and at the same time the signal for a close engagement; at 11, made the *Hero's*, *Exeter's*, and *Isis's* signals to comply with the signal then abroad and they obeyed and bore down upon the enemy accordingly; at 10 minutes past 11 I made the *Magnanime's* and *Eagle's* signal to make more sail and close up the rear which they did accordingly; the same time made the *Monarca* (my second astern's) signal to close up to me; from this time till 35 minutes past noon the engagement was general from van to rear in both and mostly very close; the enemy's ships seemed to have suffered very severely both in hulls and masts; the van ship had bore away out of their line and the *Brilliante*, the French Admiral's second ahead, had lost her main-mast. At this time the sea-breeze set in at south-south-east very fresh

and several of the ships in our van and center were taken aback and paid round with their heads to the westward, whilst others of our ships, those in the rear in particular, who had suffered less in their rigging, paid off and continued on their former tack. Some of the enemy's ships were also paid round by the sea-breeze with their heads to the westward, the Admiral's second ahead in particular, which I supposed to be the *Ajax* but proved to be the *Severe*, fell along side of the *Sultan* and struck to her, but whilst the *Sultan* was wearing to join me made what sail she could, fired on and sacked the *Sultan* without showing any colours and then got in amongst her own ships. At 5 minutes past noon finding the *Worcester*, *Eagle*, and *Burford* still continuing on the former tack and nearing the body of the enemy's squadron very fast, I made the signal to wear, and hauled down the signal for the line of battle purposing to make the signal for a general chase, but the Captain of the *Monarca* having hailed and informed me that all his standing rigging was shot away and the ship otherwise so much disabled as to be ungovernable and the *Hero* on the contrary tack hauling in with the land with the signal of distress out, and the enemy's ships having wore and come to the larboard tack, those least disabled forming to windward of the others to cover their disabled ships and endeavouring to cut off the *Eagle*, I made the signal at 20 minutes past 1 o'clock to wear and stood to the westward, the engagement still continuing partially whenever our ships were near the enemy's and the *Eagle* hard-pressed by two of the enemy's ships. At ½ past 1 o'clock I made the signal for the line of battle ahead on the larboard tack and made the *Exeter's* signal to come within hail and directed him to take his station astern of the *Sultan*; at 2 P.M. the enemy's squadron was standing in shore and collecting their ships which I was also endeavouring to do, as our squadron was very much dispersed and continued on different tacks; the ships being greatly disabled and in general ungovernable at ½ past 4 I made the signal for the line of battle ahead and made the signal for the line to prepare to anchor, and at ½ past 5 I anchored with the *Superb* in six fathoms of water between Negapatam and Nagore, the other ships of the squadron anchoring as they came in with the land and the *Worcester* the next day.

The enemy having collected their ships in a close body anchored at 6 P.M., about three leagues to seaward of our ships; during the remainder of the day and all night our ships were closely employed in securing their lower masts, almost all their standing rigging being shot away, splicing the old, and weaving new rigging and getting serviceable sails to the yards.

On the 7th in the morning the damages sustained by the several ships appeared to me so great that I gave up all thoughts of pursuing the enemy, and at 9 A. M. the French squadron got under sail and returned to Cuddalore Roads, their disabled ships ahead and those less so covering their retreat in the rear.

At 10 I sent Captain Watt of His Majesty's ship *Sultan* in the *Rodney* Brig, disarmed, with a flag of truce and letter to Monsieur Souffrein containing a demand of the surrender of the French King's ship, the *Ajax*. Captain Watt came up with the French squadron the same evening and my letter was forwarded to Monsieur Souffrein, who returned an evasive answer saying that it was the French ship *Severe* who had the halyards of her ensign shot away, as frequently happens in action by which means it came down but was never intended to be struck.

An account of the killed and wounded in the engagement with the French squadron on the 6th July 1782.

Superb.

Killed—	
Captain Maclellan	1
Petty officers, seamen and marines	6
	7
Wounded—	
Petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th Regiment	19

Hero.

Killed—

Lieutenant Henry Chapman	1
Petty officers, seamen, and 98th Regiment	11
	12

Wounded—

Petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th Regiment	23

Magnanime.

Killed—

Petty officers and seamen	2

Wounded—

Lieutenant Thomas Henry Wilson	1
Captain of Marines William Aslam	1
Petty officers and seamen	15
	17

Monmouth.

Wounded—

Lieutenant Sabine Gascoyne	1
Petty officers, seamen, and marines	11
	12

Monarca.

Killed—

Petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th Regiment	8

Wounded—

Master, Mr. J. Corrie	1
Captain Abot, Company Officer	1
Petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th Regiment	44
	46

Burford.

Killed—

Captain Prosholme Jenkinson, 98th Regiment	1
Petty officers, seamen, marines, and lascars	6
	7

Wounded—

Master, Mr. Edward Derby	1
Boatswain, Mr. Richard Derby	1
Petty officers, seamen, marines, and 98th Regiment	32
	34

Eagle.

Killed—

Petty officers and seamen	4
	—

Wounded—

Lieutenant William Wood	1
Petty officers, seamen, and marines	8
	—
	9
	—

Exeter.

Killed—

Petty officers, seamen, marines, and lascars	11
	—

Wounded—

Master, Mr. Thomas Cribbin	1
Boatswain, Mr. William Cunningham	1
Petty officers, seamen, marines, lascars, and 98th Regiment	22
	—
	24
	—

Sultan.

Killed—

Petty officers, seamen, and marines	16
	—

Wounded—

Lieutenant John Drew	1
Lieutenant of Marines, Richard Williams	1
Petty officers, seamen and marines	19
	—
	21
	—

Worcester.

Killed—

Lascar	1
	—

Wounded—

Lieutenant of Marines, Johnson	1
Petty officers, seamen, and marines	8
	—
	9
	—

Isis.

Killed—

Petty officers, seamen, marines, lascars, and 98th Regiment	9

Wounded—

Petty officers, seamen, and marines	19
	—
	28
	—

Abstract of men killed and wounded in His Majesty's squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir EDWARD HUGHES, *K.B., in the action with the French squadron off Negapatam, the 6th July 1782.*

Ship's name.	Total.	
	Killed.	Wounded.
Superb	7	19
Hero	12	23
Magnanime	2	17
Monmouth	...	12
Monarca	8	46
Burford	7	34
Eagle	4	9
Exeter	11	24
Sultan	16	21
Worcester	1	9
Isis	9	19
	77	223

(Sd.) EDWARD HUGHES.

Ordered that the guns of the fort be fired in commemoration of the victory obtained by the fleet under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes as above expressed, that the Admiral's letter and journal be published in General Orders, and that the guns at all the military stations be likewise fired as a rejoicing on the event therein related.

Secret Department,

Monday.

Fort William, the 12th August 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT :

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the proceedings of the 8th instant.

Enclosure in the above, Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote.

Translate of a letter from the NABOB HYDER ALLY KHAN to SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., received at camp near Shoveram, the 12th July 1782.

I have received your obliging letter wherein you observe that the news of the treaty of alliance and friendship which has taken place between the

Peishwa and the English must have been made known to me because my name is included therein, all of which I perfectly comprehend. Without giving me notice, how is it possible that my name can be included? On the contrary, the Sirdars of Poonah have written and continue to write that Mr. Weatherstone had come, on the part of the English, for the purpose of conferring with them about peace, but that his conferences not proving satisfactory they had dismissed him. Wherefore, this being a business of high importance, how is it possible without a knowledge of the object and free and unreserved communications on both sides, to enter upon any negotiations. For which reasons I now write you to send Sriniwas Row to me with copy of the treaty between the Peishwa and the English. I will then consider well of every particular therein, and whatever I may have to say in consequence I shall inform the said Sriniwas Row of and return him to you, and after that I shall send for Mr. Thomas Graham.

A true copy,

(Sd.) J. GRAHAM,

Persian Interpreter to Ye Commander-in-Chief.

Translate of a letter from SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., to the NABOB HYDER ALLY KHAN, dispatched from camp near Shoveram, the 12th July 1782.

I have received your letter wherein, in reply to mine informing you of a treaty of friendship and alliance having been settled between the Peishwa and the English, you are pleased to acquaint me that the Sirdars of Poonah have written and continue to write you that Mr. Weatherstone had come, on the part of the English, to confer with them about peace, but that his conferences not proving satisfactory they had dismissed him. All of this I understand.

Mr. Weatherstone was sent by General Goddard* from Bombay chiefly for the purpose of settling a cessation of arms, which being accomplished he returned to Bombay. For the business of treating regarding peace, you will no doubt have heard that a gentleman, by name Mr. David Anderson, was deputed by the Governor-General and Council of Calcutta, whom I before wrote you are the chief regulators on the part of the Company in this country of all matters of that nature. You further write me that it is impossible any negotiations can be entered upon without a knowledge of the object, and free and unreserved communications on both sides. Of this I am sensible, and therefore agreeably to your request now send you Sriniwas Row who will inform you of the points which are essential to the re-establishment of peace and friendship between us, and which you will find exactly to correspond with what I before communicated to you, to your trusty servant, Mahomed Oosman. Sriniwas Row, who I request you will return to me as speedily as possible, will inform you of the cause which has prevented me sending you copy of the treaty between the Peishwa and the English as you desired.

A true copy.

(Sd.) THOMAS GRAHAM,

Persian Interpreter to Ye Commander-in-Chief.

Translate of a letter from the NABOB HYDER ALLY KHAN to SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., received in Camp Wandewash, the 19th July 1782.

I have received your kind letter by Sriniwas Row and have understood its purport and contents and I have learned all particulars from the said Sriniwas verbally. I have communicated to him circumstantially the causes which have brought on the present war.* I have sent copies of the papers. Undoubtedly to make friendship and peace is most

* The Nabob Walah Jah's letter to the Rajah of Mysore and agreement to give him up Trichinopoly, &c., on certain conditions.

desirable, and it is that alone is your friend's object and wish. But if both parties reciprocally desire it, they will certainly promote peace upon a proper and permanent footing. You will learn all the particulars verbally from Sriniwas Row and Mahomed Oosman as well as from the substance of the papers.

A true translate,

(Sd.) THOMAS GRAHAM,

Persian Interpreter to Ye Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure in SIR EYRE COOTE'S letter to ye Governor-General, dated the 21st July 1782.

Translate of a letter from SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., to the NABOB HYDER ALLY CAWN, dispatched from Camp at Wandewash, 20th July 1782.

I have received your friendly letter by Mahomed Oosman from whom and Sriniwas Row I have learnt all particulars. You write me that you have communicated to Sriniwas Row circumstantially the causes which have brought on the present war. That you have sent copies of papers. It gives me real concern that ever any occurrence should have happened of such a nature as to create even a difference of opinion between you and the representatives of the English nation, and it is from a sincere desire to avoid everything of that tendency which induces me to wish you had waived sending the copies of the papers in the same manner as you have declined mentioning what they are. I choose to take advantage of that line of reserve which you have yourself adopted to confine myself to two observations on the subject. That it was a business which was settled between the parties previous to the accession of your authority. You advanced no claim at the time you made your treaty of peace in the neighbourhood of Madras. These suggestions proceed from motives of the truest friendship, and that to make friendship and peace is most desirable, and that that alone is your object and wish, and that if both parties reciprocally desire it, they will certainly promote peace and friendship upon a proper and permanent footing * may operate with its full effect.* Surely no peace or friendship can be more just, proper, or promise more permanency than that which is framed to establish a good understanding amongst the powers of Hindustan—that being one of the first objects provided for in the treaty with the Mahrattas and the English. I am persuaded from the strong terms in which you express your desire of peace and friendship, you will speedily accommodate thereto, and that Mahomed Oosman who now returns to you, to whom I have again communicated all particulars, will be soon sent back with the agreeable intelligence.

* Thus in original.

A true translate,

(Sd.) THOMAS GRAHAM,

Persian Interpreter to Ye Commander-in-Chief.

Secret Department,
Thursday.

Fort William, the 15th August 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS; *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the proceedings of the 12th instant.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the following copies of letters which have been written by him to Mr. Middleton, Resident at the Court of the Vizier and to Hyder Beg Cawn the Acting Minister. These will sufficiently express the purpose for which he desires to enter them in the Consultation. To enter into any further explanation of his motives at this time would be pre-

mature, and he hopes that there will be no occasion for it at any. If there should, all the circumstances which have a relation to the general subject of these letters shall be then submitted to the Board in their fullest detail. He thinks it proper to inform the Board that by more recent advices he is informed that Almass Ally Cawn had not actually passed the line of the Vizier's dominions, but was encamped on the borders of the Jumna and with a certain indication of such a design. He has yet received no report of this conduct in Almass Ally Cawn from the Resident nor from any person in office at Lucknow.

To Mr. Middleton.

SIR,—Enclosed I send you a letter for Hyder Beg Cawn, which if you are at Lucknow, I desire you will yourself deliver to him without delay. If you shall happen to be absent from that place, I request you will forward it to him. I will send you a copy of it by the dawk of to-morrow.

I am, &c.,

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 11th August 1782.

SIR,—Enclosed is a copy of the letter which I sent you by the dawk of last night for Hyder Beg Cawn.

I am, &c.,

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 12th August 1782.

TO THE NABOB HYDER BEG CAWN.

When I prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to commit the entire charge of his revenues and the administration of his finances to his ministers, of whom you are the acting and responsible person, with the concurrence of the Resident, Mr. Middleton, I had so sure a reliance on your integrity, diligence, and abilities which are universally known and no less on the same qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a mind perfectly at ease, expecting that order would be restored to the Nabob's affairs; capable and trustworthy aumils appointed to the superintendance of the districts, the forces duly stationed for the security of peace, and the confirmation of the authority of the Sircar, and that the past and growing debt of the Company would be completely discharged in the course of the year, and that I should receive the thanks of the Nabob, your master, for the effects of my solicitude for the support of his dignity and ease.

The event has proved the reverse of these hopes—an accumulation of distress, debasement, and dissatisfaction to the Nabob, and of disappointment and disgrace to me. Every measure which he had himself proposed and to which he had solicited my assistance has been so conducted as to give him cause of displeasure. There are no offices established by which his affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent men have been appointed aumils of the districts without authority, and without the means of personal protection; some of them have been murdered by the zemindars, and those zemindars, instead of punishment, have been permitted to retain their zemindaris with independant authority; all the other zemindars suffered to rise up in rebellion and to insult the authority of the Sircar without any attempt made to suppress them; and the Company's debt, instead of being discharged by the assignments and extraordinary sources of money provided for that purpose, is likely to exceed even the amount at which it stood at the time in which the arrangement with His Excellency was concluded. The growth of these evils was early made known to me, and the effects foreboded in the same order and manner as they have since come to pass. Added to these, I this instant learn that Almass Ally Cawn, to whom you had entrusted the greatest portion of the collections without any pledge or security for his fidelity, has thrown off his allegiance and quitted the Nabob's dominions, taking with him an immense

treasure, the fruit of his embezzelments and oppression, and an army raised for its protection. This too was long since foretold and ought to have been suspected.

In such a state of calamity and disgrace I can no longer remain a passive spectator, nor would it be becoming to conceal my sentiments or qualify the expression of them. I have hitherto forebore to interfere that I might not weaken your influence and thereby disable you from fulfilling the responsibility of the great trust which had been assigned to you. I now plainly tell you that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nabob Vizier's Government. You possess abilities and the means of retrieving them, nor is it yet too late, for the resources of the country still remain. I expect it and immediately. And as the first effect of your exertions I require that the balance which is due to the Company be fully cleared by the end of the year, so that not an anna shall remain in arrears. I have a right to exact this return to the confidence which the world has seen me place in you, and to the good offices which the friendship of the Nabob Vizier has enabled me to afford you. If I am disappointed you will impose on me the painful and humiliating necessity of acknowledging to him that I have been deceived, and of recommending the examination of your conduct to his justice, both for the redress of his own and the Company's grievances, and for the injury sustained by both in their mutual connection.

Do not reply to me that what I have written is from the suggestion of your enemies, nor imagine that I have induced myself to write in such plain and declaratory terms without a clear insight into all the consequences of it and a fixed determination upon them.

(Sd.) WARREN HASTINGS.
,, EDWARD WHELER.
,, JOHN MACPHERSON.

Secret Department,
Monday.

Fort William, the 26th August 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the proceedings of the 15th instant.

The conferences between Sriniwas Row, Sir Eyre Coote's Vakeel, and Hyder Ally Khan, referred to in his letter to the Governor-General of the 20th July and recorded in Consultation the 12th August, being translated, are now read and recorded as follows:—

Translation of a Conference between NABOB HYDER ALLY KHAN and SRINIWAS ROW, a Vakeel on the part of GENERAL COOTE.

I waited upon him on Monday evening and presented him a nazzer, which he declined accepting and desired me to be seated near him. I told him that my master and Mr. Graham had ordered me to present him their respects, and had enquired after his health. To this he replied by asking in very civil terms how the General did, and added that he had heard much in his praise, that he was a great and gallant commander and an excellent man. He said he had also been informed of the good qualities of Mr. Graham. He then asked how old each of them was. I answered that the General was about the same age with himself, and added that I had always heard him speak in his praise declaring that past ages had not seen, nor would future times produce among the natives of this country, so worthy, so great, so brave, and soldier-like a chieftain as he, and that I believed him sincere in these declarations.

He then said—

"It was never any wish of mine to quarrel with the English. On the contrary I was so desirous of continuing upon friendly terms with them, that in the course of three years I wrote to my Vakeel, Bunajee Punt, upwards of an hundred times "*that I should indeed be glad if peace could be preserved between us, but that every day produced some fresh dispute on the frontier relative to the province of Dindigul, and I feared this might prove fatal to it, that the consequence of that would be that I should enter the Carnatic, lay the whole country waste, and burn and reduce all to ashes.*" "I sent him letter after letter to this effect, till I was tired, and he continued to represent these matters to them, but in reply, the Company's people referred him to Mohamed Ally Khan, and he again referred him to the Company. How long was I to put up with such kind of talk as this?"

I replied—

"Your Highness is a great chief, whatever be the conversation which I have the honor to hold with you, my answers ought to be just and true. If therefore you will be pleased to bear with a little freedom of speech, I will take upon me to reply to what you have now said."

To this he rejoined—

"Let me have your answer; my design in sending for you was that both parties might come to a good understanding."

I then spoke in reply to what he had said before as follows:—

"You, Sir, made war upon the English and entered the Carnatic for no reason whatever, for as to what you are pleased to say of the disputes regarding the frontier, both sides have probably in that matter been equally culpable. What likelihood is there that one party should be alone to blame? A pair of *tawly* (brass plates) are not set aplaying without two hands; upon this pretence, however, you have invaded the Carnatic, but to this hour, Sir, what advantage have you reaped, and in future what are you likely to gain by it? You have got indeed by this injustice the enmity of the English, but no kind of profit whatever. Your own mind, Sir, must be conscious to the truth of all this."

He said—

"A treaty was formerly concluded between the English and me, but was one syllable of it ever fulfilled? What security then can I have for the performance of any future engagements?"

I answered in these words—

"Who, Sir, was the first that infringed the treaty? You will probably find that the first violation of it was from you, and not from us."

He replied—

"I will tell you who it was that transgressed the treaty. In the first place it was stipulated that we should mutually assist each other, and they agreed to lend me troops. When therefore the Mahrattas had entered my country I wrote to them a variety of ways, desiring them to send me succours. In reply they at first told me *they would send them, they would send them,* and after some time they said they had written to Europe and expected orders from thence. To this I urged that it would be a year and six months before their orders could be obtained from Europe, and of what use would their succours be then? The Governor's answer was that without orders from Europe they could do nothing. And yet at length after a long time had elapsed they pretended that till then they had received no directions. In this manner have they framed excuses to evade this article of the treaty. In the next place I told them not to go against Mahé, they said they would not, and yet they went. I know not who they are that presume to enter and raise disturbances in my boundaries."

In answer to this I said—

"A war, Sir, having arisen between the French and English, orders were sent out from Europe to take all the principal French sea-ports, they were under a necessity therefore of acting as they did. But when they entered your territories did they commit any outrages, did they injure you? No! their sole purpose was to transact a little business of their own, they confined themselves to that, and came away again by another route. What have you, Sir, to do with the French? These are European nations, they have always been quarrelling in this manner, and sometimes they are friends again. But what is all this to you? Should you, Sir, take part in this national war, would it be in your power to bring it to an issue? And if not, why should you meddle in it at all by succouring or opposing either party!

He said—

"In those sea-ports of mine that are large, the English, French, Dutch, Danes, and all the European nations have factories, if then the English factory should there be attacked by any of the rest, ought I to sit an unconcerned spectator? Surely not; but to proceed—A third point is, that the people at Tellicherry are always supplying Nayem Ra with guns and ammunition and encouraging him by that means to wage war with me. What treaty can subsist when such unreasonable proceedings take place on your side? What friendship can ever be maintained between you and me? But, besides all this, every year or two a new Governor comes out, and does whatever he takes it into his head to do without any regard to treaties or engagements, but only to what happens to strike him as advisable. In this case the Company I acknowledge is one Company, they are not divided, but while these people that come hither continue to pursue such measures, what dependence is there on a treaty. It was on these accounts that I took it into my head, that though it should cost me crores of rupees I would spend it in destroying and laying waste your country till never a lamp was left to burn there, and having formed this resolution, I wrote to my Vakeel that I should certainly come into the Carnatic. But though he went and reported this, it was neither believed nor attended to. An European Vakeel, however, came from Madras, and presented me, as you do now, with a fine series of arguments, telling me "*that they and I ought to be friends,*" and a great deal more to that effect in answer to all which I told him immediately in plain terms, that I positively would visit the Carnatic, and that on his way back to Madras he would see my cavalry and artillery in readiness. With this plain message I sent him back, and I have since kept my word, I have come and for these two years have desolated your whole country and burnt all to ashes. In future too, you will know what I can do, for what care I if it cost me ten crores of rupees more than I have spent already; you, indeed, will suffer, but to me it is a trifle, or nothing."

I said to him here—

"And pray, Sir, to what purpose will you be at two more years' expence harassing your own person, and wearing out your troops? To what end will you lay out ten more crores of rupees? Do you think the English will ever be crushed by you? Or the Carnatic become yours? Do you expect to see it even in a dream? No! Be assured this is a vain idea."

He replied—

"What I had to do, I have done. Madras only remains, and what great matter is that?

To this I answered—

"Why, Sir, do you cherish such a thought in your mind? Madras, believe me, is not made of wax. If you ever come against it, you will soon be convinced of this. Consider, Sir, what you undertake in making war with the English, when the French, a nation of the same sort with themselves, have not been able to prevail against them, what have others to expect? The English have thousands of sea-ports, and Madras is but one of that number. To cope with you, then, can be to them no very arduous enterprise. The English

prowess is every where dreaded, both in the East and in Europe, nor is there any nation that can claim a superiority over them. Let these considerations sway with you to use some foresight at the present juncture. What I mean is this:—You are, Sir, a great potentate, you have a government, revenue, and country in possession; so circumstanced, your object ought to be to give stability and permanency to your name and family, and with that view before you, it is surely not good policy to make the English your enemies. You cannot but feel the force of this remark."

He then said—

"It is my wish to live at peace with them, and I am now ready to come to terms. If the General instead of going to Bengal had remained here, he would have prevented the treaty from being infringed. It was for want of some man of weight like him that things wore on so badly. But even now if the General sets his head upon it, it is easy to come to a good understanding together.

I replied—

"This declaration, Sir, gives me much pleasure, as I dare say it agrees with the inclination of my constituent, for he cannot but desire that a peace and lasting friendship should subsist between the English and such a Prince as you."

He answered—

"I also am ready to give my assent to this; but when I consider that not a single word of the former treaty was observed, and that now also if the General should go away after entering into engagements with me, another may come and undo all again; how can I possibly expect that any treaty will on the part of the Company be faithfully adhered to?"

In reply to this I said—

"What breach of engagement have the English been guilty of? It is against you, Sir, I fear, that we must lay this heavy charge. One article of the former treaty was that you were not to molest Morari Row, and yet you have so completely uprooted him, that his very name is no longer heard of. What kind of faith is this?

He replied—

"Morari Row was not the only name mentioned in the treaty, there were others also, among the rest that of the Rajah of Tanjore. Did you not agree to leave him unmolested? And yet you went against him."

In answer to this I said—

"What is the case of Tanjore to you, Sir? The Rajah was our subject and gave us *peshkush*. What relation has that to you"?

* I said—

"Of such matters I could say enough, but what end would it answer? If the design be to promote amicable measures, let us rather speak of somewhat that may have that kind of tendency."

He was then pleased to say—

"The General has written me that Sriniwas Row would communicate some matters to me in person. Now tell me what it is you have to say."

I replied—

"The General told me that he had mentioned some things to Mohamed Oosman which he took it for granted he must have communicated to you, and bid me hear and report to him, what you should be pleased to say upon the subject. I am ready therefore to carry to him your commands."

* He answered, and Morari Row was my Golam (slave). I treated him as I pleased myself, and what relation has that to you?

He said—

"It was stipulated that I should have Trichinopoly and Madura made over to me, the paper of agreement, including a receipt for the money paid, is here ready, you may see it."

I asked him, why, when this stipulation was first made, he had not then talked the matter over and brought it to an issue.

He answered—

"I dropt it at that time, proposing to have it done at some future period."

I said—

"How can it be expected that what did not go forward then, should be carried into execution now? The bringing up this subject at present can answer no real purpose, and will produce nothing but mere altercation."

He replied—

"I do not say that Trichinopoly and Madura are to be given up to me, but as the lands of the Province of Dindigul are in some parts intermixed with the confines of the Trichinopoly District, I wish to have that matter properly settled."

"The mention of that, Sir," said I, "was quite unnecessary. That will certainly be done." I then begged he would tell me if he had any particular requisitions to make, and I would carry them to my master. He said he would deliver them to me in writing, to which I assented. He added that he would give me also copies of the paper of agreement for the cession of Trichinopoly and Madura, and of the receipt, which I might take with me at the same time. I suggested that there was probably a farigkhut (or paper of discharge) of his ready to be produced on our side. His answer was—

"What regard is to be paid to a paper which you yourselves have forged and sealed with a counterfeit seal?"

I said—

"Where was such a thing ever heard of? If, however, it has been done there, why may it not have been practised here too? How is that matter to be ascertained?"

He replied—

"Upon these are the signatures, both of Mohamed Ally Khan, and an European named Saunders. You may see them here."

He then asked if I had brought him a copy of the treaty which I had told him was concluded between the Poonah Ministry and the English, in which his name was included. I told him that a Persian copy had been coming by sea, but the sloop in which it was had been taken in the way hither, that other copies had been sent for, but those that had come in consequence were in English, and it was not thought proper to transmit him a translation made here, as it might chance to differ from the original. That nevertheless another Persian copy was expected, which he should see as soon as it arrived. "But," continued I, "I have already given you a verbal detail of the particulars of the treaty in which it is mentioned that you are to leave the Carnatic, that you are to release the officers and all others that have been taken prisoners during the war, that a general peace and good understanding is to take place in future, and that as the other four or five powers of India propose now to live upon amicable terms, you are also to adopt the same measure with other matters of a similar nature."

He said—

"Has any one given me regular information of all this? And without that, what have I to do with that which people write at home agreeably to their own fancy? But who is it that has made this agreement with you?

I answered—

"The Poonah Ministry themselves have entered into the terms I mention." "But in what manner," said he, "was it done? An European named Anderson

has procured it by bribing Scindia. What are such clandestine proceedings to me? The Poonah people have not to this day written me a syllable about it. And I am not a boy, that after spending crores of rupees and undergoing the fatigues of two years' war, I should quit the Carnatic and set your people at liberty merely on the strength of your information. To whom do you pretend to talk in this manner?"

I replied—

"You, Sir, have entered the Carnatie to oblige the Mahrattas, and while you are yet here, they have made peace with the English, and entered into a treaty, of which if your business did not make a part what occasion would there be to give you any information about it? But you surely must also have received a copy."

He said—

"I know nothing of this matter, but I think *you* will know what it amounts to by the time four months are over. Do you know what engagements the Poonah Ministry have entered into with me?"

I told him "No."

"Hear then, said he, I will tell you. I was to expunge the English name from the Carnatic and they engaged to take charge of Bengal, &c. This was what we agreed upon, and to this day the letters that come from thence are to the same effect. If you wish to see them you may. I have had letters also from the Bhonslah, who says he proposes to go against Bengal. But if the Poonah people and you have made a treaty and are become friends again, why do not you get them to assist you with twenty thousand horse?"

I answered—

"What need have we of more troops that we should solicit succours of others? Where would be the use of it? Measures of that kind must be well considered. If we are at peace with the Poonah Ministry, the Carnatic cannot remain long unsettled. That which was not a matter of difficulty before, can surely not be so now. Troops are assembling from different quarters, no end therefore will be answered by prolonging the dispute and it well becomes you, Sir, to give this matter all due consideration."

He said—

"It is now three years that you have not acted up to a single article of your treaty with the Nizam. You have taken to yourselves his countries of Chicacole, Rajmundry, &c., and do not pay him the money you agreed upon. In a word, who is there that you have dealt with agreeably to your engagements? It is plain there is no faith left among you."

I replied—

"This assertion may be true enough in respect of the French and other nations, but the English are not yet destitute of faith, nor are likely to become so. There are others indeed that may with justice have this laid to their charge, and the English after putting up with tenfold injuries, are sometimes under a necessity of exerting themselves at last. You would do well, Sir, to consider this, and bring matters to a conclusion before it be too late. We for our parts are ready to come to terms, otherwise in a year or six months more you will see the consequences."

He then said—

"What I suppose when I come to fight you, you will place the Mahrattas before ye, for without that what can ye do? You will march four coss in a day, more you cannot for your lives, and so keep trotting after me all round the country; my business in the meantime I shall take care to dispatch. I shall lay all waste around you, this will be my employment, and then *you* do your best. Bring the Nizam and the Mahrattas to help you, and see what you can do. You were all three united for a time once before, and what did it end in? And what think you will it come to in future? Why, each will go back the same way he came."

My answer was—

"The English have neither formerly solicited succours of any one, nor will have occasion to do so hereafter. But you, Sir, have purchased this unjust war at a great price, and are devising all sorts of new schemes for carrying it on. Among others, you think yourself very sure of the French. But what did Dost Ally Khan and Chanda Saheb formerly gain by their connection with them? Believe me, Sir, your appearing in these national quarrels can answer no kind of purpose, for your drawing the weight of an European war upon yourself will not decide the dispute."

He replied—

"Where were the French when I entered the Carnatic? They have only been come these four or five months past, and have I sought their assistance? Can they do anything for me, have I sent for them hither?

I said—

"I have heard that you had many consultations with them, and that even a treaty was concluded between you and them, long before you entered the Carnatic. But if you hope to gain anything by uniting your fortunes with theirs, be assured the English will be a match for you both."

He said—

"The French have forty or fifty ships coming out, together with those of the Dutch, and if they invest you by sea, and I by land, you will find it a hard matter to keep Madras. Reflect well upon this."

I told him that if the French and Dutch should send so many ships out, the English would undoubtedly dispatch a superior force after them, to which he answered, it was nothing to him, they were on the sea, and he on the land. I told him none were better able to judge of consequences than himself; and asked him if he knew what had happened to the French of late. He said he did not understand that anything very bad had happened to them. That he had heard indeed that in the former engagement two of their vessels had been taken, and that in the last two more had lost their masts, that the French had since come and anchored at Cuddalore and the English were gone to Nagapatam, that if anything more than this had happened he should be glad to hear it. I told him I hoped to give him some fresh intelligence in the course of eight or ten days more, and a good deal past of the same kind. At length I said to him—"There is a matter which has given my master much offence. He is much concerned to hear that Colonel Baillie and the rest of the officers whom you have taken prisoners, several of whom are the sons of people of distinction, suffer very great hardships, and have not even the common necessaries of life, such as clothes and food allowed them. He says that it is not the custom of Europeans, nor is it ever usual with great princes, to treat their prisoners in that manner, and wonders that Your Highness should adopt so unworthy a conduct."

He replied—

"They are in no want of food and raiment, let some one be sent on your part to see them, and Braithwaite who was taken in the Tanjore country is here in the camp, you may see him yourself. A sheep for ten men is their daily allowance, and upon this some that were lean when they were with you, are grown very fat since I have had them. They that have told you all this therefore have told you lies. And as to the other article, they have not to be sure fine clothes, but they are sufficiently supplied with white linen. You may tell your master to be perfectly easy upon this head, and when matters are made up between us I shall release them *altogether*."

I should have mentioned that in answer to what he said about our passing his bounds to go against Mahé, I reminded him of his expedition against Cuddapah. He asked what the English had to do with that. In reply to which I asked him what he had to do with Bidenoor and other principalities of

which he had possessed himself, and by what authority he pursued such violent measures? To this he gave no answer.

Translated from the original in the Mahratta language.

(Sd.) W. CHAMBERS.

Translate of a Conference (No. 2) between the NABOB HYDER ALLY KHAN and SRINIWAS ROW, a Vakeel on the part of GENERAL COOTE.

On the day following, which was Tuesday, I waited upon him on the evening, when he condescended to enquire after my health. I then spoke to him as follows:—

"As yesterday was the first day I had the honour of conferring with Your Highness there were some particulars which out of deference and respect I was restrained from touching upon with that freedom which the case requires. You, Sir, are a Sovereign Prince possessed of treasures and dominions, and what is more, a soul fitted for great actions, the Most High has raised you to honour and dignities that are half divine, though I come before you therefore as the servant of another, yet you may be assured of my attachment and devotion to yourself also, and in that view it becomes me to be plain and open in what I say to you upon any subject. And though it is true I can offer little to your consideration which your own discernment may not already have suggested to you, it is yet incumbent upon me to tell you all I know."

He then bid me speak freely to him all I had in my mind, and I proceeded thus—

"Believe me, Sir, the enmity of the English is no desirable object, it is much better to make peace if you can do it upon good terms, it can answer little purpose to prolong a dispute the issue of which must be of small importance. I know, Sir, that your idea is, that in six months or a year more, or at the expence perhaps of ten crores of rupees, you may be able to finish this matter to your own satisfaction. But be assured this is a mistaken notion. You see what has been done for these two years past, great sums have been expended, your troops have wasted away, great numbers of your horses have been destroyed and several of your principal commanders killed, and yet no kind of conclusion has by all this been effected, but rather a general detriment to your affairs. What are likely to be the future consequences, also, I leave Your Highness to judge. You know the saying—* *The new supply has carried away the old stock,* which has generally been found a very true one. The Poonah Ministry have now made peace with the English and entered into a treaty with them, which single circumstance is of itself sufficient to settle the business of the Carnatic, and when, in addition to this, the Hindustan powers and Nizam-ud-Dowlah shall be all upon amicable terms with them, and you alone shall chuse to follow a different path, how can this ever prove a consistent scheme of policy? It is of great importance to Your Highness to give this point all due consideration. The English forces are by these measures left at full leisure on all sides, and only wait for an order from hence (which has probably been already sent) that they may march this way and enter the province in a month or two more. I mention this merely from attachment to Your Highness's interests. It appears on all accounts by far the most advisable plan to put an end to this contest by some means or other, and make sure of the friendship of the English which will serve a variety of purposes and is preferable to that of any other nation; my motives for urging Your Highness to this so often are these, millions of people are happily supported under Your Highness' Government, and I wish to see it settled on such a permanent footing as may transmit your name to a remote posterity, and I am desirous also of convincing you of my attachment. But you after all will judge for

* A proverb alluding to the custom, everywhere prevalent in the Deccan, of damming up water for the purpose of agriculture, where, if a person eager to increase his stock of water, calls in too strong a torrent in the rains, his dam breaks and the whole is carried away together.

yourself in these matters, and whatever may be your determination, I am ready to go and report it to my master. I shall only observe that this is a business which, if this opportunity be lost, it will be difficult to settle hereafter, for I know the temper of Europeans, one word goes to a bargain with them, nor do they ever wait for a second. It is this which has induced me to be so plain in my declarations to Your Highness."

I spoke to this effect for about an hour and an half during which he continued to listen very patiently, and at the close of my discourse asked me if I had anything more to say. I told him that I had both declared to him the substance of the business on which I came, and my own opinion of future consequences, and that I now wished to hear what he should be pleased to say upon the subject. He then spoke as follows:—

"All that you have now said is true. The final issue of such contests depends certainly on God alone, and not upon the counsels or achievements of either party. It is *my* wish also at any rate to settle this dispute, and to contract an hearty friendship with the English, and I hope ere long to come to a good understanding on this subject with the General, for it is by *his* means, and no other, that this business must be done; if it is settled at all it must be settled with *him*. The General is a man of great distinction, and of great worth, the English nation has not seen, nor is likely to see again such a chieftain as he is, and he is invested with full powers. If, therefore, a peace be concluded between the English and me through his mediation I am pursuaded it will be lasting, and I am on that account desirous of his friendship. To that end, I should be glad to send for Mr. Graham to come and see me, and I should prefer him to any other. But were such a man of rank to come to me I should wish to receive him with perfect satisfaction and good will, in token of which I should of course present him with elephants, horses, and jewels, and I should chuse to make the General some presents at the same time. Previous, then, to all this, it seems requisite that you and I should talk matters well over together, and not send for Mr. Graham till we can fall upon some mode of pacification. For I should think it utterly unworthy of me to call hither such a gentleman as he is and afterwards part with him in displeasure. This apprehension is the only impediment; were it not for this, there could be no objection to his coming and going when he pleased; I should be always happy to see him. There is also another reason for my wishing to adjust everything with you, first, which is that the matter may not be prematurely published, and particularly that *Mohamed Ali Khan* may not know of it. The *General's* friendship I desire from my heart."

I replied—

"As to that matter I am sure my master has been hitherto as sincerely inclined towards a friendship with Your Highness, which your Vakeel Benajee Punt well knows. That friendship he also wishes to see settled on a permanent footing. If you, therefore, are of the same mind, what difficulty can remain? It is in your power, Sir, to commence and establish it immediately."

He then said—

"My friendship will not be like that of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. You have now, you say, secured that of the former, but take my word for it you will discover in four or five months more, how far it is to be relied upon. When they have not observed one dot of the treaty they made with me, why should you imagine their attachment to you will be more durable! There is no occasion for *me*, however, to tell you this: you will be sufficiently apprised of it when the time comes. A sight of the letters and papers that come constantly to me from thence which you may see if you please would alone convice you. Nor is the friendship of the Nizam, with whom you say you are in alliance, at all better, and if you are willing to put it to the proof, I will show you a way of doing so that will clearly demonstrate whether it be feigned or real. Ask of him only ten thousand horse, of which I engage to pay the expense, and if he sends them I will allow his friendship to be sincere, if not, what is it good for?"

I replied—

"The English have not hitherto asked succours of any one, nor will do so in future, for the Company is in no want of troops that they should beg them of others. On the contrary all the powers in India are desirous of their assistance, while the English are independent of foreign support, being possessed of forces and revenues without number and without count. Six thousand Europeans with an immense quantity of military stores, and several large ships of war have already sailed from Europe and are expected to arrive in a couple of months. In that case, what need will there be of having recourse to others?

He answered—

"I spoke not in respect of that, but explained to you the nature of these people's friendship, which it is needless to boast of before me."

I asked him, how he could cast these reflections upon others, when he himself had commenced the present contest in direct opposition to former engagements!

He replied—

"What has past, has past. It is now your business to endeavour to set matters right again. I am ready."

I told him the affairs of this quarter had already been settled in the Poona Treaty, and asked him what more was to be done in order to an agreement.

He said—

"I have not entered the Carnatic and made war here for these two years past merely for the purpose of going out as I came, and if I chuse to do so, there would surely be no need of waiting for your orders; rather than do that I will stay two years more. I care not for the expence, nor do I expect to get any money out of the Carnatic. That is no object with *me*, for when the English troops formerly entered my country, I did not scruple even then to burn and lay waste the whole territory in which they marched. But *you* are undone if your country is not in a condition to yield revenue; for what avails it that you possess a fort like that of Vellore for instance without being able to realize anything from its dependencies? As to what I have in view, and my motives for commencing the war, you know them already, I shall send Mohamed Oosman along with you with a copy of the engagement for the delivery of Trichinopoly which was executed by Mohamed Ali Khan and Saunders, the European; besides which the Nabob himself has a copy, and I suppose you have another, let these be examined and fully understood. It matters not if it takes up a month or two more, and send copies if you chuse to Bengal; and when you have well weighed everything do what you think best. I have also the receipt for the money paid on that account, which you have seen with your own eyes. My meaning is that in this matter whatever is just and proper may be done."

I replied—

"No end, Sir, can be answered by leaving the straight road and going into crooked paths. What you now propose can never be complied with, and why should you thus throw into confusion a business that was in a fair way of being happily concluded. I know my master's mind on this subject, and that it is what he never will hear of; it is therefore totally useless to send these copies."

He said that as in our treaty with the Mahrattas and the Nizam we had agreed to the surrender of territory, he had a right to expect the same terms. I told him that it was to the Mahrattas only we had agreed to restore the country we had taken from them, and that as we had not even invaded or destroyed any possessions of his, I wondered at his making such a requisition. He said, if nevertheless, it was well grounded, it ought to be complied with, if otherwise, rejected. I told him it was altogether groundless, for that the Nabob had a paper of release to oppose to his paper of agreement. He asked me if I knew what kind of a release that was; I told him I was aware of what he said of it, to wit, that it was taken clandestinely from the Raja Katti

Gopal, but I affirmed that the fact was not so. He said it really was so, that Katti Gopal had been confined for three years in the Fort of Trichinopoly, and had been made to undergo very great hardships (of which he wrote incessant accounts to his people) and the release had thus been forced from him. I answered that, however that might be, we had a release to produce with the Raja's seal upon it. He said it was what he should pay no regard to. I asked him how then he could expect that his own paper would be acknowledged by us. And after a good deal more to the same effect he said—

"Well, whatever is to be, will be; Heaven alone can determine how this matter is to end. You will, however, tell the General from me that I hope we shall both be in our hearts good friends. And say a good deal to him in that way. Tell him also that I have sent him copies of the paper of engagement, and that what I had to say I have said to Mahomed Oosman. You will at the same time desire him to do what he thinks best, and tell him that as he is a master of such subjects there was the less occasion for me to say much upon this occasion."

I then said to him—

"I shall mention a word or two more and I have done. You know what I said before that the *tawlies* are not played upon without two hands. Your Highness knows best what you have to do. I have only to propose that there may be a cessation of arms till this negotiation be concluded."

He replied—

"No doubt, now that you are come, why should I commit any hostilities? I shall prevent, indeed, your army from being supplied with wood, grass, and grain, but that is all I shall do."

I replied—

"Bengal, thank God, is in a flourishing state, and while that is the case the army can be in no want. Madras is well supplied with grain by the incessant arrival of from ten to twenty vessels at a time laden with that article. And though for these two years past you have done everything in your power to distress us, we are as yet in want of no one necessary commodity. If this then has been the object of the war, to what end is it still continued, or to what purpose have you maintained so many troops, at the expence of crores of rupees? Except indeed that the poor inhabitants of the country have been distrest. This end alone has been answered."

He said also—

"Scindia writes me letters continually; a packet arrived from him but half an hour ago, of which if you chuse you may take copies along with you. In these he desires me to tell him what my real intention is, that Anderson the European wishes to take his leave, and that he (Scindia) is ready to undertake the band-o-bast (or settlement) of Bengal and those parts. My answer to him is, that let that measure take place when it may, I am bent upon war."

The conversation continued in this manner till about three o'clock in the morning, when he permitted me to take my leave.

Translated from the original in the Mahratta language,

(Sd.) W. CHAMBERS.

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Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 23rd September to 31st December 1782.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 23rd September 1782.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MCPHERSON, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *indisposed.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 12th instant.

Sir Edward Hughes to Lord Macartney, &c., enclosed in the letter from Fort St. George.

MY LORD & GENTLEMEN,—On my departure with His Majesty's squadron under my command from Madras Roads the 20th of last month I used all diligence to get to Trincomalee, but the wind blowing much from the south I did not arrive with the squadron off that place till the 3rd of this month when I found it in the possession of the French, and their squadron reinforced by the *Illustre*, a 74-gun ship, and the *St. Michael*, a 64, with the *Elizabeth*, formerly a Company's ship of 50 guns and many transports at an anchor in the several bays there.

On the same day His Majesty's squadron had an engagement with that of the enemy, an account of which is herewith enclosed; and I am much concerned to inform you that on the morning of the day after the engagement I found several ships so very much damaged in their hulls and masts as to render it impossible for them to keep the sea; three of them, the *Hero*, *Eagle*, and *Monmouth*, are with difficulty kept above water with all their pumps at work from stop-holes so low down that it will be difficult to stop them even when at anchor in smooth water, and all the ships have suffered so much in their masts, yards, and rigging that the short time the squadron can with safety remain on this coast will be scarce sufficient to refit them for sea. I am, therefore, on my way to Madras Roads to effect their repairs.

On the 2nd of this month I fell in with the *Nottingham*, one of the Company's transports which sailed from England with Sir Richard Bicherton's squadron, who informs me Sir Richard Bicherton had left Rio Janeiro the 3rd June last, and that on the 21st June he with seven Indiamen and a store ship, parted company with the Commodore in blowing weather in the latitude of 36°24′ south longitude, 24°40′ west of Greenwich, as he did with the above from time to time.

As the blowing weather and other accidents since the engagement have not permitted returns of the killed and wounded to be made me from all the ships, I cannot precisely ascertain their numbers, but am happy to inform you we have suffered less in men in this last than in any of the former engagements.

I am sorry to say that Captain Lumley of the *Isis* and several other officers are among the number of the killed, and Captain Watt of the *Sultan* and Captain Wood of the *Worcester* among the wounded; the first has lost his right arm and the last dangerously wounded in both knees.

I had despatched the *San Carlos* with the original of this letter yesterday forenoon, but finding that ship has run to leeward of the Road now forward a duplicate by an officer of the *Superb*.

"*SUPERB*," AT SEA,
The 8th September 1782.

I have the honour to be,
EDWARD HUGHES.

A true copy,
J. HUDDLESTON,
Secretary.

An account of the transactions of His Majesty's squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's squadron in the East Indies on the 3rd September 1782, off Trincomalee on the Island of Ceylon.

At day-light I discovered the French squadron, consisting of 30 sail, at an anchor in the back bay of Trincomalee and soon after saw French colours on the point and at the two forts. At 6 A.M. a part of the enemy's squadron, consisting of 14 sail of line of battle-ships, 3 frigates, and a fire-ship, got under sail and stood out of the bay to the south-eastward, the wind blowing strong at south-west off the shore; at 10 minutes past 6 I made the signal for the line of battle ahead on the starboard tack at two cables length distance, shortened sail, and edged away from the wind that the ships of the van of the line might more speedily get into their stations. At 20 minutes past 7 I made the *Active's* and *Coventry's* signals to come under my stern and order the *Active* to send 20 men on board the *Monmouth* and the *Coventry* to send 20 men to the *Hero*. At 20 minutes past 8 the enemy began to edge down on our line, then formed in good order from that time till half past 11. I steered under top-sails in the line east-south-east with the wind blowing strong at south-west in order to draw the enemy's squadron as far as possible from the Port of Trincomalee, they sometimes edging down, sometimes bringing to and in no regular order as if undetermined what to do.

At noon the enemy's squadron appearing to have an intention to engage shifted our ensigns from blue to red; at 10 minutes past noon I hauled down the signal for the line ahead and made the signal for the ships of our line to steer east-south-east and to bear of each other east-south-east and west-north-west. At half past 1 P.M. I made the signal for the line ahead again formed and stood on the enemy's squadron still bearing down. At half past 2 the enemy's began to engage ours, and I made the signal for battle, and four minutes after the engagement was general from our van to our rear, the two additional ships of the enemy's line falling furiously on our rear ship, the *Worcester*, and nobly resisted by that ship and the *Monmouth*, which backed her sails to her assistance, but at the same time the van of the enemy's squadron, to which five of their ships had advanced together, bore down to the *Exeter* and *Isis*, the two head-most ships of our line, and by an exerted fire on them having faced the *Exeter* (much disabled) out of the line, they tacked keeping their wind and firing on the *Isis* and other ships of our van as they passed; at 28 minutes past 3 the mizzen-mast of the French Admiral's second astern was shot away by the board, and at the same time another of the enemy's ships lost her fore and mizzen-top-masts; at 35 minutes past 5, the wind shifting suddenly from south-west to east-south-east, I made the signal for the squadron to wear, which was instantly obeyed in good order, and the action renewed on the other tack close and vigorously on our part; at 20 minutes past 6 the French Admiral's main-mast was shot away by the board and soon after his mizzen-mast, and about the same time the *Worcester*, one of our line of battle-ships, lost her main top-mast. At 7 P.M. the body of the French squadron hauled the wind to the southward, the ships in our rear continuing a severe fire upon them till 20 minutes past 7, when the engagement ceased and the ships of our squadron had apparently suffered so much as to be in no condition to pursue them.

EDWARD HUGHES.

A true copy,

J. HUDDLESTON,

Secretary.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 3rd October 1782.

Thursday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *indisposed.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., *absent on service at Fort St. George.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 30th ultimo.

Agreed that the following letter be immediately written to Fort St. George.

To Fort St. George.

MY LORD & GENTLEMEN,—We have just received your letter of the 30th August in reply to ours of the 4th July on the subject of your disputes with the Commander-in-Chief.

We cannot offer so bad a compliment to the labour you have taken in the composition of this voluminous work as to delay for a moment acknowledging the receipt of it, but we have neither leisure nor disposition to reply to it fully at present. We consider that a retort of arguments or accusations, however well applied, would rather tend to aggravate than reconcile a difference of opinion which can be productive of no good end, and ought, therefore, to be carefully avoided at a time when the greatest cordiality and unanimity in our Councils are absolutely necessary to the preservation of the public interests respectively committed to our charge.

Yet we must remark that under the alarms which the contents of your preceding despatches had left us, preceding we mean in order of despatch though not in point of date, it was some relief to us to find that you had both time and inclination to labour through a discussion of 29 close folio pages without a reference to the dangers which surround you, and which engage the whole attention of this Government.

We understand that a famine rages round Madras, and that hundreds of our fellow-creatures are famishing there daily for want. We have heard of the loss of Trincomalee and that Sir Edward Hughes is determined to quit the coast during the approaching monsoon. We are informed that Sir Eyre Coote was near Cuddalore with the army in expectation of a general action with our combined enemies. We do not learn that you have a store of provisions for many months in Madras, and we are sure that you have no money in your treasury. Amidst the most anxious thoughts on these dangers which hang over and threaten the very existence of your Presidency, we look to the arrival of every post from Madras with a degree of impatience constituting an alternate struggle between our hopes and our fears.

At such a crisis, and when we were making the most zealous and effectual efforts for your relief, the post arrived, we opened your letter and peruse its contents, we may say, indeed, with astonishment!

We shall not explain to you further what we felt upon this occasion. But the letter appears to us of such a nature that we earnestly conjure you at this critical juncture not to communicate it to Sir Eyre Coote, nor while the service requires his presence in the Carnatic. For our part we shall lay it by as a secret deposit, and take a proper interval of public tranquillity to convey to you some few remarks which we think it is certainly entitled to. In the mean time we shall send it home to the Company without a comment, but accompanied with copies of our letters of the 11th March and 4th July, which have given rise to it.

We only wish that the future records of your Presidency may add many and more solid proofs of your political merits as an Administrator than those which you now labour to establish.

If those merits extend to the salvation of your settlement we shall be happy, and upon that condition we would willingly submit to every charge with which you may wish to load us.

There is one merit, however, which we shall claim, and to which you must acknowledge our right. It is that of persevering to support your Presidency with all the resources of this Government, however you may be pleased to comment upon our proceedings.

Another merit, too, we shall endeavour to possess, that of a moderation that you shall neither surprize nor provoke. We trust you had no such intention in the present instance; however, of this our employers will be the best judges, and give you the proper credit.

We shall conclude this letter by referring to a sketch of an account which we enclose to show the amount of supplies furnished you by this Government from 1st May 1781 to this time, amounting to current Rs. 1,23,17,684-9-1; previous to that date we had sent you current Rs. 35,55,072-13-4, making together current Rs. 1,58,72,757-6-5.

We are, &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 3rd October 1782.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 11th November 1782.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 24th ultimo.

MR. STABLES having taken his usual oaths in the Public Department now takes his seat in this Department.

15th November 1782.

The Governor-General submits the accompanying minute to the perusal of the Members of the Board, but as it would be improper that the contents of it should be at this time made public, which probably would be the consequence of its being entered on the Consultations, he requests that they will permit it to be delivered to the Secretary closed and sealed, and to remain with him until it may be judged proper and safe to record it, and that it may be allowed a place in the proceedings between MR. ANDERSON'S last letter to the Governor-General, and the two letters which follow it to his brother, LIEUTENANT JAMES ANDERSON, that being correspondent to the point of time in which it was written.

The Governor-General makes it also his request that one copy of it may be sent to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors with the despatches of the *Lively*.

8th November 1782. WARREN HASTINGS.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,—It is now near a month since the contents of two packets dispatched from England by the route of Bussorah were received in Calcutta. These brought information of the revolution which had taken place in the administration of the affairs of Great Britain, and among other changes portended from it, the report of a decided intention to remove myself, and some of my appointed colleagues in the Council from our present offices, has gained belief. The Chief Justice has been, it is said, recalled by a resolution of the

House of Commons, and the same authority has, I am informed, required my immediate removal from office, because I was the efficient instrument of conferring on him a place which it was deemed improper in him to accept. The first of this intelligence arrived at Bombay in August last, and the whole has been in a manner confirmed by the subsequent intelligence which arrived some time afterwards at Tellicherry, passed in course to the Presidency of Bombay and its dependencies from whence it would in a few days be known at Poona. It got early to Fort St. George and afterwards to Bengal where it subsided for an instant. The minds of men being more strongly attracted by the novelty and magnitude of the first event than its contingent and possible effects, which, though affirmed in private letters from England and suggested in the printed newspapers and journals of the Committee, were not generally admitted but as possibilities. Subsequent and repeated advices have since found their way hither, which confirm beyond a doubt the facts already reported with additional circumstances, which leave it beyond a doubt, at least in the public and universal belief, that they have terminated in their destined objects.

Governor-General's minute.

Whatever may be the final event, I owe it as a dutiful warning to the State which I serve, and (may I add?) as a consideration of allowable attention to my own public character, to express the apprehensions which I feel for both in the consequences of the actual circulation of such a change in this Government, which is the source of the political system of the British interests now pervading every state of Hindustan and Deccan. It has come forth in the crisis of a long depending contest with the two only formidable powers of India, united, at least in co-operation with our great European adversary. In less than a month it will be known, if not already known, to every Darbar with which we have any connection, or from which we have anything to dread or to hope. These have all been in the long habit of considering me as the first instrument of this Government, and the mover of all the politics which have originated from it, and have been conducted in a train of consistency. Perhaps, too, their reliance on that consistency, and on the inviolate adherence which it hath ever maintained to the faith of treaties may have contributed to establish a superior degree of confidence in it, and to encourage the attachment of some, and the awe of others, towards it. They are all intimately acquainted with our constitution in all the points in which it has a relation to their interests, and they will all conclude that every new Government, succeeding by the violent dismission and reprobation of that which preceded it, will adopt for its principle the subversion of every measure, plan, and system which originated from the former. This will naturally tend to protract the delays of the Mahrattas, the most procrastinating and the most frivolous negociators of all the people which history has ever recorded, and to excite designs in others consonant to the different kinds of relation which they severally bear to us. But it is in the former instance that I most dread its influence, for, notwithstanding the assurances given to Mr. Anderson by Mahadajee Sindia, and mentioned in his last letter to me dated the 17th of last month, that all would be finally settled in the course of three or four days following, I have seen too much of their mode of conducting business to expect a conclusion in less than a period of ten times the promised length even if no intervening obstacle should arise to extend it.

If, contrary to my hopes, the ratification of the treaty shall have taken place before the news from England shall have reached Sindia's Darbar, the worst effects which I have portended will be most happily prevented. But if it shall prove otherwise, if in the expectation of new rulers whose names affixed to the treaty on the part of this Government will stamp it with their personal sanction, he should chuse to delay it, the loss of the Carnatic may be denounced as the infallible consequence of it; for it is universally understood that the ratification of the treaty will be less in effect a confirmation of the peace already established beyond all likelihood of its being broken than the signal and pledge for an instant commencement of hostilities between the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali Cawn, whose present inaction may be ascribed to that expectation, as we are unacquainted with any other probable cause of it. It is true that we have seen no instance in the conduct of Mahadajee Sindia which can warrant the suspicion of his behaving either with duplicity or unsteadiness.

Nothing could be more opposite to these qualities than the part which he acted the last year, which certainly afforded sufficient temptation to display them if such had been his temper or policy; but neither would such a behaviour in the case which I have supposed merit the reproach of such appellations, nor are the two cases similar. Severe and astonishing as the calamity was which befell me personally, he saw our Government in the full and undivided exercise of its great powers, a spirit of unexampled union in its members, and of a zeal equally unexampled for its support in the dependents of its authority. Perhaps I underrate his character in ascribing his forbearance to any cause independent of it; but these, if not the sole motives of it, had certainly a share in confirming it. But neither his natural disposition nor policy can be expected to influence him in the same manner now, or to induce him to bind himself and his superior State in new ties to men whose political existence is expiring, and whose personal connection with him may throw him to a greater distance from the Government of which they have but the temporary and inefficient charge.

I forbear the application of this subject to other consequences as they may affect our public interests, nor should I think it safe in some cases to divulge my own apprehensions concerning them. Whether my apprehensions in any of the instances to which I allude shall be verified or not, it is sufficient if I have demonstrated the probability of such consequences deduced from such causes. These causes I regret not because they have existed, but because the acts to which they refer were not complete and in actual force at the time of their promulgation. In a great and dependent Government constituted as this is, and so remote from the source of its authority, it were to be wished, in the first place, that if it were possible such a choice should be made of its rulers as might ensure a regular course of succession, and in the second, that whenever the superior State should feel the unavoidable necessity of breaking that order, and of appointing new men to the chief administration, their assumption of their offices should take place at the same point of time with the notification of their appointment, or at least as near the same point of time as it could be. The reason is evident. The interval is a stagnation of power, influence, and business, promoting remissness, licentiousness, and a general scramble at home, and inviting intrigues and invasion from abroad. Such are the effects in a season of ordinary tranquillity. But in that of war, and to bring the application home, in a war with many great and potent States, conducted at the most remote corners of this continent, and fed with the exhaustible resources of a province which was once, and not long ago, supposed unequal to its own support, the most pernicious evils ought to be apprehended, and in its continuance certain destruction. We are too apt to presume that what has never happened never will happen; may it ever be in the knowledge and remembrance of those to whom the direction of the British dominion in these provinces may belong, whether in its primary or subordinate charge, that it is held but by the hand of actual violence, supplying the rights of a natural and acknowledged constitution, and that an instant may therefore annihilate it. And such, whenever that fatal period shall arrive which is to terminate its existence, I will venture to foretell will be its termination.

With respect to myself I hereby declare and protest that I am not, nor will acknowledge responsibility for any disappointment, loss, misfortune, or embarrassment which shall attend the political interests of the Company dependent on this Government from the present hour to that in which I shall either deliver over the charge of my office, if I am to be relieved from it, or in which I shall be confirmed in the possession of it. I hope I shall not be suspected of the baseness of intending to abandon my trust, and thus preparing a plea for the effects of my own infidelity, while my sense of what I owe to my King, my country, and my employer, shall require me to remain in my office, while I am allowed to remain in it, and allowed the full and free exercise of it; no consideration of family, life, or fortune shall tempt me to desert it, and I hope I know myself when I declare that no sense of personal injury or disgrace shall abate the zeal with which I have hitherto discharged the duties of it. For this assurance let my past conduct be the pledge. I have now held the first nominal place in this Government almost twelve years. In all this long period I have almost unremittedly wanted the support which all my predecessors have

enjoyed from their constituents. From mine I have received nothing but reproach, hard epithets, and indignities, instead of rewards and encouragement; and instead of being allowed to exercise the powers of my own Government for the benefit and improvement of their service; these, during a series of six years, were not only denied me, but converted even, with their connivance and incitement, into instruments of hostility, of which I myself personally and all my measures were the objects. Yet under all the difficulties which I have described, such have been the exertions of this Government since I was first placed at the head of it, that in no part of the Company's annals has it known an equal state, either of wealth, strength, or prosperity, nor, let it not be imputed to me as a crime if I add, of splendid reputation.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 18th November 1782.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MCPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SIR EYRE COOTE, *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 11th instant.

The following letter is written during the sitting of Council to SIR EYRE COOTE.

SIR,—We have this moment been honoured by the receipt of your letters of the 15th and 17th instant.

On reading your first letter we immediately passed our resolutions upon it for communicating to you the measures we had already adopted for enforcing a powerful attack upon Hyder Ali's dominions from the Malabar Coast, and for supplying the Presidency of Fort St. George with every aid which they required from us for the subsistence of their army and defence of the Carnatic, which we should not have delayed imparting to you till this time had we thought the state of your health would have admitted it. On those subjects we shall have the honour to write to you in a separate letter, but we lose not a moment in expressing our very great alarm at the information conveyed to us by your last letter and its enclosure from General Stuart.

We see with the utmost concern, both from this and from a letter which we have received from General Stuart under date the 30th September, that a difference of the most dangerous tendency already subsists between that Government and their Provincial Commander-in-Chief, and that one and both have so essentially deviated from your particular and positive recommendations for keeping the army united, a point which under all circumstances appears to us of the most necessary importance if it was possible by any means to have subsisted the men.

The mutinous conduct of the troops upon this occasion, and the general dissatisfaction which seems to prevail among them, independent of the efforts of the enemy, threaten the very existence of the Presidency of Fort St. George, and alarm us with such dreadful apprehensions for the safety of the Carnatic that we see no possible means of salvation to the country, unless you shall be able to return there to resume the immediate command of the army; indeed, we are so sensible of the powerful influence which your presence will have over the troops, from their entire confidence and sincere attachment to your person, that we take upon us earnestly to entreat you to proceed to Fort St. George as soon as possible for this purpose.

We are conscious that if the state of your health can possibly admit of your complying with this request you will be as ready to attempt it as we are anxious to recommend it, and thereby add, if possible, to the eminent and distinguished services which you have already rendered to your Sovereign, the nation, and particularly the East India Company.

We are, &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 18th November 1782.

To the RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B., President and Governor, &c., Select Committee, Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor to receive your letter of the 23rd instant inclosing the minutes of your Committee of the 22nd.

I have observed with infinite satisfaction the earnest manner in which you have exerted yourselves towards carrying into execution that object which I had so much at heart—the destruction of the French force at Cuddalore. Impressed as I am with a thorough conviction of the great and many beneficial effects that would have accrued to our interests in general by its successful accomplishment, and feeling, on the other hand, as I do the evil consequences to be apprehended from the existence of that force on this coast under the countenance of so powerful a native ally as Hyder Ally Cawn, I most sincerely lament with you the ill-success that attended your efforts, and the cause which produced the necessity of relinquishing the expedition.

My health mends so slowly, and I continue in so weak a state, that the faculty have recommended to me a sea voyage and change of air. I have therefore come to the resolution of proceeding to Bengal, and shall tomorrow or next day embark on board the *Medea* frigate, which Sir Edward Hughes has been so obliging as to give me for that purpose.

As the best chance we yet have of rising superior to our enemies, I must recommend the preservation and support of the army to your most particular attention, and that you allow no consideration whatever to influence you to the measure of disbanding it. On the contrary that you use your utmost endeavours to keep it ready for immediate service.

As the efforts of our natural enemies, the French, are at present directed in force against this side of India, it is my firm opinion that every man now here should be employed for the support and protection of our possessions here and in Bengal, the chief strength to be preserved on the coast. And I trust the small detachment I have upon the application of the Governor-General and Council ordered to Bengal will for the present be sufficient to secure the tranquillity of those countries till the reinforcements expected may enable us to furnish a more considerable force for their security, as upon them alone we have to depend for our chief resources.

You may rest assured that nothing shall be left untried towards assisting you, both in money and provisions, from Bengal, and that should my health be so re-established as to enable me again to endure the fatigues of field service, I shall, upon its being intimated to me that my presence can be of any use to your affairs here, embrace the first opportunity of returning.

I entertain a just sense of obligation for the very honourable terms in which you are pleased to notice my zeal for the public cause, which it is with the deepest regret I am, from extreme indisposition, obliged to withdraw from, whilst the great object of my wish and ambition (when I undertook the service on this coast) the restoration of peace to the Carnatic remains unaccomplished.

Your perseverance towards overcoming the many dangers which impend over your affairs on this coast will reflect the highest honour on your administration, and will, in the event of success, which I earnestly pray for, be amply repaid you in the grateful applause of your King, country, and employers.

ON BOARD THE
"EARL OF HERTFORD," INDIAMAN,
The 25th September 1782.

I have the honour to be with, &c.,

EYRE COOTE.

A true copy,

THOMAS KINGSCOTE,
Deputy Secretary.

Exd.—T. Y.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 19 F. D.—13-4-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 6th January to 10th February 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 6th January 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 31st ultimo.

As the Nabob's charge against Lord Macartney for breach of the treaty concluded by this Government with the Nabob, 2nd April 1780, is founded principally, though not entirely, on Lord Macartney's assumption of the authority specially reserved to the Nabob in the assignment, and in Lord Macartney's acceptance of it, of affixing his seal and signature to such appointments of aumils as should be made by Lord Macartney, and as the proceedings of the Select Committee which have been transmitted to us contain no other materials which bear a relation to this charge except those which are contained in their letter of the 1st May in which this departure from that condition is avowed and explained in the first instance, and as Syed Assun Cawn has declared in his memorial that Lord Macartney has since that time invariably affixed his own seal to all sunnuds of similar appointments without observing the term of applying to the Nabob for his confirmation of them.

Ordered that Syed Assun Cawn be desired to attend the Board tomorrow morning to answer such questions as the Board may think proper to propose to him, both with relation to the original transaction said to have passed on the 18th April, and to the appointments of aumildars which have been since made by the Right Hon'ble the President or the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George.

Ordered also that Mr. Joseph Sulivan be directed to attend the Board at the same time, and for the same pupposes, and that he be desired to explain immediately to Assun Cawn the subjects of our intended enquiries that he may be prepared to answer them.

To

The RIGHT HON'BLE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B., *President, &c., Select Committee, Fort St. George.*

Dated Tripassore, the 11th December 1782.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I did myself the honour of informing you that the reports of these parts were that Hyder Ali was dead. Last night and to-day several people who came from Chittoor positively assert that he died three days ago. This morning a man came in from Hyder's camp with a letter from a Fakeer Mahomed for the Nabob Muhammad Ali. He assures me of Hyder's

death, and that the letter to the Nabob gives an account of it. His body is embalmed and will be carried to Collar to be interred. He died a most cruel death, not having been able for many days to lay otherwise than flat on his face. 'Tis said Tippoo Saheb has been wrote to to join him with the utmost dispatch, but I can learn no certain account concerning where he is or how employed. They have it in Hyder's camp that Tippoo and Colonel Lang have had a smart action, but nothing decisive.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

ROBERT SCOWLER.

A true copy

THOMAS KINGSCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

Assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic granted by the NABOB WALLAH JAH to LORD MACARTNEY on the 2nd December 1781.

Nabob Chop
Persian.

L. S.

This paper is to have all the force and validity of a sunnud, and no other instrument is necessary between His Highness the Nabob, and the Governor on the behalf of the Company. His Highness empowers the Governor to appoint all renters or aumildars to be confirmed by His Highness. The Governor to settle with them for rent. The time of renting to be for three or five years, as the Governor shall settle with the renters. Rent not to be inferior to nett revenue of His Highness's exchequer in similar circumstances.

The orders which His Highness will give shall not affect the revenue. Orders relative to the revenue shall proceed from Lord Macartney alone. Orders from His Highness and from His Lordship to be communicated to each other. His Highness will give usual cowles to the aumildars who shall be appointed by the Governor with the addition of a clause declaring that all monies are to be paid to the orders of the Governor only. The Governor obliges himself to pay to His Highness the sixth part of the revenue from time to time as the same shall be received by the Governor, and to pay it agreeably to His Highness's orders here or in the respective countries where the same shall be collected as His Highness shall please to direct. The remaining five parts of the nett receipt of the revenue shall be placed to His Highness's credit with the Company. The Governor to furnish receipts to His Highness from time to time for the sum that shall be received on His Highness's account. His Highness declares that during the period now agreed upon, of five years, he will not remove or dismiss any renters without the knowledge and consent of the Governor. His Highness also empowers the Governor to regulate and receive all peshcush and all other revenues of the Carnatic. Allowance to be made only by the Governor for the amount of His Highness's sunnuds for giving peshcush for one or two years granted before the second day of April last. All new sunnuds to polygars to be given by His Highness and not by the Governor. Such revenues to be regulated as not to be inferior to the nett receipts in similar circumstances.

The Governor to pay one-sixth part also of such peshcush and other revenue to His Highness, the remainder to be placed to his credit, as in the case of the amount of rents.

Lord Macartney will please to act conformably to this paper which is signed and sealed in duplicate, both by His Highness and the Governor, and reciprocally delivered to each other.

Nabob's signature.

MADRAS,
The 2nd December 1781.

MACARTNEY.

A true copy from the original in English.

J. HUDLESTON,
Secretary.

Copy of a letter from the RIGHT HON'BLE LORD MACARTNEY to the Nabob, dated the 2nd December 1781.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The sincere and steady friendship which has so long subsisted between Your Highness and the English nation cannot fail to be cemented by the fresh mark you have this day given of your confidence in the Company in relation to the revenues of your country. A measure which promises to promote the connected interest of Your Highness and the Company in this present critical juncture must afford the highest satisfaction to me whose ambition in this country is to contribute as much as possible to so desirable a purpose. In making a suitable return to the trust reposed in me by Your Highness on this important occasion, I gratify my own sentiments and render myself acceptable to the Company as well as to my Sovereign, of whose friendship towards Your Highness you are well persuaded. His Majesty has given the most undoubted proof of his regard by ordering part of his forces to be employed towards expelling the invader from your dominions, notwithstanding the several enemies he has to encounter elsewhere. By this assistance from the King of Great Britain, by the Company's exertions, and by Your Highness's wise resolution to appropriate the greatest part of your revenue to defray the expenses of the war, I have the strongest hope that it will be terminated in a short time, and that Your Highness will be fully reinstated in your territories, power, and dignity.

As the assignment Your Highness has made of your revenues is for the support of the war, those objects being accomplished Your Highness's revenues will be entirely at your own disposal, according to whatever future arrangement may be made between Your Highness and the Governor on behalf of the Company for the discharge of your debts, or the advantages of your subjects, as I had the honour to express to Your Highness in a former letter.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
The 2nd December 1781.

I have the honour to be,
Your Highness's most obedient and
most humble servant,
MACARTNEY.

Secret Dept.,
Wednesday.

Fort William, the 8th January 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of yesterday.

Upon the whole the Board are unanimously of opinion—

1st.—That the Government of Fort St. George by the separate act of the Right Hon'ble Lord Macartney, their President, and by the acts of the collective body of the Select Committee, have broken the condition under which they

received the assignment granted to Lord Macartney on 2nd December 1781, and which constituted its validity to the Company and obligation upon the Nabob.

2nd.—That the necessity which they plead for even an avowed breach of the assignment did not exist, and even if it had existed would not justify the act.

3rd.—That all acts done by Lord Macartney or by the Select Committee under the authority of the assignment after they had dispensed with the observance of the condition under which it was granted are illegal.

4th.—That the act of making appointments of aumildars or collectors of the revenue of the Carnatic in the name and with the public authority of Lord Macartney alone, and substituting his seal for that of the Sovereign of the Carnatic, was the usurpation of a sovereign power in the person of an individual unprecedented in any British Government, and not justifiable but by valid authority and evident necessity.

5th.—That the assignment having been granted by the Nabob on the effect and performance of the 4th article of the agreement or treaty concluded by him with the Governor-General and Council on 2nd April 1781, and having been so declared by him, the breach of that assignment was virtually a breach of the treaty or agreement concluded with this Government, and every act done under the authority of the assignment so broken was a positive breach of the treaty or agreement being contrary to the express terms thereof.

6th.—That Lord Macartney and the Select Committee, in asserting and publishing to the Commander-in-Chief and to the Nabob that the measures by which they usurped the sovereign exercise of the powers of the Nabob's office were approved and directed by this Government, have been guilty of criminating this Government with charges that would, if believed, have a dangerous effect upon our present negotiations for peace and alliance over India.

7th.—That the Nabob having appealed to this Government against Lord Macartney for his infraction of the treaty and for the abuse of the assignment granted to His Lordship on the faith pledged by this Government for the observance of it, be undeniably entitled to such redress as the nature and degree of the offence requires, and it is in the power of this Government to grant.

8th.—That the only redress suited to such a description is that he be freed from the duration of the injury which he actually sustains by a formal renunciation of the right assumed by Lord Macartney under the Nabob's assignment, and the delegated powers of this Government, and by such a modification of the 8th article of the original treaty or agreement to which our claim on the Nabob for the appropriation of his revenues and his relative obligation to it necessarily revert on the breach and failure of the assignment of 2nd December 1781, which was also a modification of the same article of the treaty or agreement as shall be satisfactory to the Nabob and consonant to the reciprocal rights derived from it to the Nabob and to this Government on behalf of the Company, these being the original and only constituent parties of the treaty or agreement.

9th.—That the Nabob Walla Jah having proposed such a modification as is described in the preceding opinion, it is therefore incumbent on this Government to accept it.

10th.—That such an act of justice on the part of the Superior Government of the British establishment in India is independently of its obligation as such necessary to the retrieval of the national faith and to the preservation of the credit of the faith of this Government, both because of the universal notoriety of the acts which are construed, and of which the Nabob Walla Jah has complained as a violation of it, and of their having originated from a treaty concluded by this Government itself, and because of the declarations made by the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George imputing those acts to the direction and approbation of this Government.

11th.—That this act of justice, independently of its obligation as such, is connected with advantages greater than those which were obtained by the assignment of 2nd December 1781.

Upon these grounds it is therefore—

1st.—Resolved that we do hereby formally renounce all the rights and powers granted to Lord Macartney under the assignment of the Nabob Walla Jah and the delegated powers of this Government, and that by the powers and authorities vested in this Government by the Act of the 13th year of His present Majesty, and by the special power and authority granted to us by the Court of Directors, we do require the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George to render back to the Nabob Walla Jah the said assignment, together with the full charge and administration of the revenues, and of the sovereignty of the Carnatic in as full and complete a manner as he did or could exercise the same before the conclusion of this agreement with this Government on 2nd April 1781, or as he can exercise the same now that they do command and compel their aumils to deliver over their respective charges of the revenues to such aumils as shall be appointed by the Nabob, or to retain their trust under his sole authority if he shall choose to confirm them therein, and that they do withdraw every power and authority which they have delegated in the Carnatic in virtue of the said assignment.

2nd.—As the Nabob Walla Jah, in his letter to the Governor-General, has requested that the assignment which he made to Lord Macartney of the revenues of the Carnatic may be restored to him, offering to bind himself to the condition of advancing to the Company for the charges of the war five-sixths of the collection with the reservation stipulated by the original treaty or agreement concluded with this Government on 2nd April 1781, of one-sixth for his necessary expenses; and as his Minister, Syed Assun Cawn, in a memorial dated 25th November last, has further engaged on the same condition in the name of the Nabob to furnish supplies of ready money, grain, and cattle to the same amount and quantity as those which have been received from his country during the administration of Lord Macartney, with an addition of one-third of each for the same given to me, and to give soucar security for the money, and that from the day on which the enemy shall evacuate the Carnatic, the Nabob shall regularly pay by stipulated kists to the Company twelve lacks of pagodas per annum, seven lacks to be appropriated to the Company's use, and five lacks to be by them paid to his creditors.

Resolved that these offers be accepted in lieu of the Nabob's original stipulation contained in the 18th article of the treaty or agreement of 2nd April 1781, and that Syed Assun Cawn be required to engage on the behalf of the Nabob for the performance of the same by a formal deed executed to that effect.

3rd.—That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President and Council of Fort St. George for their information and guidance, together with a copy of the deed which shall be executed by Syed Assun Cawn according to the terms of the second resolution; and that they be instructed to call upon the Nabob for the performance of the conditions stipulated therein, with an express caution that they do not consider these acts as dependent on each other, nor suspend the execution of those contained in the first resolution for the performance of any of the conditions of the new deed executed by Syed Assun Cawn, but that the first of these acts be carried into immediate execution as a retribution of justice due to the Nabob in which the latter has no concern.

4th.—That as the powers with which we have already invested our agent, Mr. Richard Joseph Sulivan, for the due observance of the engagements which have been or may be immediately concluded on the part of this Government with the Nabob Walla Jah, are at this time and for the present occasion peculiarly necessary, he be directed to return forthwith to the Carnatic with the same instructions as were before given to him as our minister and representative at the Darbar of the Nabob Walla Jah, and that the Secretary be directed to furnish him with copies of such papers as he shall require and shall have relation to his appointment.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 13th January 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of 10th instant.

Syed Assun Cawn, attending, is admitted, and in the presence of the Board executes the following engagement in behalf of the Nabob Walla Jah :—

Copy of the engagement executed by SYED ASSUN CAWN on the part of the NABOB WALLA JAH.

The Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council of Bengal having released His Highness the Nabob Walla Jah, &c., &c., &c., from the performance of the mode prescribed in the 8th Article of the treaty or agreement of Fort William, of 2nd April 1781, for the collection and appropriation of the revenues of the Carnatic during the continuance of the war in the Carnatic, and having in lieu thereof accepted of certain propositions made by me, his Vakil, Mukeluch, or special minister, whom he has invested with full power, I do by these presents in his name and on his behalf bind the Nabob Walla Jah to the punctual observance of the following stipulations :—

Firstly.—That he shall advance to the Company for the charges of the war five-sixths of the collections of the Carnatic with the reservation stipulated by the original treaty or agreement concluded with the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, on the 2nd April 1781, of one-sixth for his own necessary expences. Further, that he shall furnish supplies of ready money, grain, and cattle to the same amount and quantity as those which have been received from his country during the administration of Lord Macartney with an addition of one-third of each for the same given time, and that he shall give soucar security for the money.

Secondly.—That from the day on which the enemy shall evacuate the Carnatic the Nabob shall regularly pay by stipulated kists to the Company twelve lacks of pagodas per annum, six lacks to be appropriated to the Company's use until their debt shall be discharged, and five lacks to be by them paid to the creditors in account agreeably to the list of bonds which shall be lodged with the Governor-General and Council of Bengal and with the President and Council of Fort St. George.

Thirdly and lastly.—I do hereby stipulate and agree in the name and on the behalf of the Nabob Walla Jah that in case of failure in any of the stipulations thus made by me, the Nabob Walla Jah shall submit the collection and appropriation of the revenues of the Carnatic for the purposes of discharging his public and his private debts to such mode or modes of arrangement as the Court of Directors or the Governor-General and Council of Bengal shall direct.

Dated in Calcutta, 9th Suffur 1197 of the Hajira, or 13th January 1783.

Sealed and delivered in presence of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council, 13th January 1783.

Seal of Syed Assun Cawn.

T. P. AURIOL, *Secretary.*

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 27th January 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE.

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 23rd instant.

Received overland and opened packets from the Secret Committee of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, under dates 30th April, 11th and 12th July.

The following letters having been communicated individually to the Members of the Board at their request, Sir Eyre Coote delivers in a copy to be recorded in this place.

CIRCULAR.

To—SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.

SIR,—It is with the greatest satisfaction that I take the earliest opportunity of transmitting to you the inclosed gazette, which contains the particulars of a complete victory obtained, on the 12th of last month, by His Majesty's fleet commanded by Sir George Bridges Rodney over the French fleet commanded by the Count de Grasse, and the Count taken prisoner. I most heartily congratulate you upon an event so glorious to His Majesty's arms, and which is likely to be attended with consequences the most beneficial to the kingdom in general.

I am, &c.,
SHELBURNE.

WHITEHALL,
The 18th May 1782.

A true copy,

W. TIERNEY, *Surgeon.*

To—SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.

SIR,—Colonel Crawford brought me on the 4th ultimo your letter of 20th January, containing several inclosures and a narrative of military operations and other transactions which have been carried on under your command. I have had the honour of laying the whole before the King, and had much satisfaction in receiving His Majesty's commands to signify to you his approbation of your conduct, and of the great exertions you have so successfully made under the most complicated difficulties. It is truly to be regretted that after a constant train of victories you could not push your advantage over the enemy to more complete decision for the want of provisions, an obstacle which, I fear, in the present condition of that country, will continue to operate against the progress of the British arms, unless very considerable supplies shall be constantly furnished from Bengal. In this view it must be of the utmost consequence to keep the communication between that Presidency and the Coast open and free, and I have expressed very strongly, in a letter to Sir Edward Hughes, my anxiety respecting this object, on which I conceive, not only the success of our army, but their very existence depends. I trust indeed that no designs of an European enemy will have taken effect before the Admiral shall be strengthened with such reinforcement as may enable him completely to counteract them. I inclose for your information a précis of all the intelligence we are possessed of

in regard to the equipments made in any of the ports of France, Spain, or Holland, and which have sailed or are supposed to be destined for the East Indies. There can be no doubt of the intentions of France to direct a very considerable force against our possessions in the East, and it is evident by the deputation of M. Bussy, at so advanced an age, that her plan is deeply laid, and that she looks to an alliance with some of the great country powers in India, particularly the Nizam. The immediate mischief which must ensue therefrom to our affairs, and particularly the danger to which the Northern Circars will be exposed, are matters of very serious importance, and when I consider the whole face of India, and see nothing but enemies on all sides of the several British Governments, I cannot too much approve any proper steps which have been taken, or encourage the adoption of every rational plan in order to conciliate the minds of the native princes, and to break the very alarming league which they appear to have made against us. A peace with the Mahrattas is certainly an object deserving most immediate and constant attention, and the frequent representations you make of the necessity of that event only tend to confirm the idea I had before entertained of the state of hostilities with that people.

I cannot but feel great additional anxiety for the accomplishment of this object when I consider the circumstances of the revenues of each Presidency, and particularly the distress which you describe in your letters to the Select Committee for want of money to pay the large arrears due to the troops. His Majesty's Ministers esteem these matters to be of such magnitude and concern to the interests of these kingdoms, as well as of the Company, that they intend to proceed very soon to a full consideration of these affairs, and will seek to provide the best remedy that can be afforded to the mischief which might ensue from an increase of the disorder.

I should write still more at large to you on this subject by the present opportunity but that you have given me too much reason to suppose that you may be on your return home before this letter will reach India. I am very sincerely concerned to find that you have taken this resolution, and much more that your state of health should have obliged you to do it. The King has been pleased to command me to signify to you the high sense His Majesty entertains of the zeal and ardour with which you devoted yourself at so critical a period to the dangerous and difficult service which required your presence at the head of the army in the Carnatic, and to which is to be attributed the retrieval of affairs in those parts, as far as it was possible to effect it by the weak means with which you were furnished. His Majesty placed the firmest reliance on the further success of your operations, guided by that judicious and resolute perseverance which had surmounted such extraordinary difficulties, and the necessity you have now found yourself under to leave the work unfinished has, of course, occasioned a sense of disappointment proportioned to the confidence you had inspired.

I sincerely hope that your health may be speedily re-established, and it is impossible not to add a wish that you may have found yourself sufficiently recovered to induce you to continue in your command. It is at the same time His Majesty's pleasure that Sir Hector Munro, General Steuart, and all the officers and men who have so greatly distinguished themselves by their endeavours to act in a manner worthy the example you set them should be informed of His Majesty's perfect approbation of their good conduct. His Majesty receives with satisfaction your recommendation to bestow a reward on any instance of particular merit, and I am therefore commanded to signify to you that Lieutenant-Colonel Owen is advanced to the rank of Colonel by brevet in the East Indies, according to your desire.

The Hussar whose unexampled bravery has been particularly remarked by you is perfectly entitled to, and may be assured of the allowance of £20 per annum for his life.

With respect to the booty and plunder taken at Negapatam, I have His Majesty's commands to signify his pleasure that they should be distributed agreeably to the opinions of the field officer transmitted by General Steuart to you on the 31st December 1781, reserving the public stores which are vested

in the Company by virtue of the Articles of War made in pursuance of the Mutiny Act for India, and I am informed by a letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company that the Court of Directors are of the same opinion.

The recall of Sir Hector Munro from his station in the Company's service, which must have occasioned his departure from India before the arrival of this despatch, makes it useless for me to answer his letters from Negapatam, except by signifying the King's pleasure that you, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, should notify to the officers and men employed in the siege of that place His Majesty's approbation of their behaviour upon that service.

I am, &c.,
SHELBURNE.

WHITEHALL,
The 6th July 1783.

CIRCULAR.

To—SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.

SIR,—The King having been graciously pleased to appoint me to succeed the Earl of Shelburne, as one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and to commit to my care the despatch of such business as relates to the East Indies, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you therewith.

It will give me great satisfaction to be able to fulfil His Majesty's gracious intentions in this appointment, and it is His Majesty's pleasure that your despatches should for the future be addressed to me. I shall not fail to lay them immediately before the King, and to transmit to you such orders as His Majesty shall think fit to give thereupon.

I am with great truth and, &c.,
THOMAS TOWNSHEND.

WHITEHALL,
The 10th July 1782.

Fort William, the 10th February 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

Translation of a letter from SRENEVAS ROW to MR. THOMAS GRAHAM, dated Madras, the 18th January 1783.

The boil on Hyder's back gave him the most excruciating pain and growing every day considerably larger, he marched from Mahi Mundle and encamped near Chittoor, and on account of the very precarious and ill-state of his health wrote a letter to his son, Tippoo, who had moved towards Coimbatore, desiring his speedy return. Tippoo, upon the receipt of his father's letter, immediately set off alone and arrived at Casoor. In this interval the boil on

Hyder's back grew to so large a size and became so painful as to cause his death on the 2nd of Muharram 1197, year Hijri.

Abu Muhammad Chaubdar instantly wrote Tippoo an account of his father Hyder Ally Cawn's death, and that his corpse was on the way to Collar. Tippoo on hearing this proceeded himself to Collar and remained there fifteen days performing all the rites and ceremonies proper on such occasions, and gave away five lacks of rupees among the fakirs, &c. He afterwards wrote letters to all his killadars, aumildars, &c., and having settled affairs in that quarter departed and arrived in camp the 25th Muharram.

Abu Muhammad, until the arrival of Tippoo, had kept secret the death of Hyder and had issued all orders, &c., in camp the same as if Hyder had been alive, and had in this manner transacted all business in camp for five and twenty days.

When Tippoo arrived he assembled his army and all the principal people and presented himself before them, then seating himself upon the musnud announced to the whole assembly the death of his father. He comforted and consoled them for his loss and they in return presented their nazars to Tippoo, then and not till then was it publicly known that Hyder was dead.

When the assembly broke up Abu Muhammad took Tippoo aside to a private place, and there informed him what his father had said to him and the advice that Hyder had given to Tippoo concerning his future conduct. Tippoo had found, when he was employed in paying the last rites to his father's body, a small scrap of paper with writing on it, wrapt up in one corner of Hyder's turban which he read: it contained the following words—"I have gained nothing by the war with the English, but am now alas! no longer alive. If you, through fear of disturbances in your own kingdom, repair thither without having previously concluded peace with the English, they will certainly follow you and carry the war into your country. On this account, therefore, it is better first to make peace on whatever terms you can procure, and then go to your own country. There was some time ago a person by name Srenevas Row, who came to confer with me from the part of the General. Do you by means of him establish this channel of intercourse." He had mentioned he said all this advice to Abu Muhammad, and had likewise written down the places where his treasures and other valuables were deposited. Tippoo read this paper and kept it by him; when Abu Muhammad took him aside to a private place Tippoo shewed him the paper. Abu Muhammad then informed Tippoo of all that had passed at the conference I held in Hyder's camp, with which Tippoo was wonderfully pleased.

I received all this intelligence from Abu Muhammad who sent a person of trust and rank to inform me of it. Upon considering and well weighing the business, I did not think it would be proper to drop the chain of our former intercourse, and in this idea wrote to Tippoo as follows—"When the General heard in Bengal of your father's death he said that Hyder was a great Sardar, and that there was not among the natives of India so great and renowned a soldier; it would have been well had he lived a little longer; in this manner did the General speak of your father." I likewise wrote, as from myself and of my own accord—"Your father was a great prince, he fed and supported millions of people; it would have been happy had you remained longer under the shadow of his protection, but such was the will of God. You, however, by God's blessing are worthy, for, during your father's life, you had your part in all affairs relative to the army and in all his counsels, so that you are now not a beginner but well versed in all matters of business, and will, no doubt, accomplish with great wisdom and prudence whatever is now to be done," and other words to this effect. I sent also a letter to Abu Muhammad and one to Muhammad Osman. I expect an answer to-day or tomorrow; when it arrives you shall be acquainted with the contents.

Tippoo had great friendship towards Abu Muhammad and consents to whatever he proposes. All business is carried on by him. Tippoo tells Abu Muhammad that his present good fortune is owing to him.

Tippoo having collected his whole army marched from Chittoor, remained ten days at Chuckramatoor, a place near Arcot, and intends now to encamp near Mujlewak.

After the death of Hyder the French at Cuddalore, having left in the place 200 men as a garrison, with the remainder marched towards Jingee, with all their military stores and provisions, and encamped near Futtehpet. Three of the principal people among them went to Tippoo, who said everything he could by way of comfort and told them that a peace must be concluded with the English. They answered that they had not a desire to be at peace with the English, that by God's blessing their ships would soon arrive, and that they did not think it so very difficult a task to beat the English. Tippoo answered you have for this year past said that your ships would soon arrive. They have not, however, yet made their appearance. You held the same language to my father, on which account peace with the English has been delayed. Otherwise ere this everything would have been settled and I should have been in my own country. With reliance on your promises crores of rupees have been expended, and you likewise have consumed lacks. Your promises are nevertheless still the same as the first day.

Tippoo wishes much for peace and says if there was any person to make peace with peace would take place. He says all that his father performed goes for nothing in his account. He must therefore begin afresh, and after having fought three or four battles and shown his own weight and consequence he will make peace.

He has collected a large quantity of military stores, has settled everything, and keeps his army in better order even than his father. He pays his troops regularly every month, and besides often makes presents to them. By this means he is beloved by the sepoys and they are contented.

There are about 4,000 flying horse in the environs of Madras, who are continually disturbing the neighbourhood and hover about the suburbs, driving away all the cattle they find. There is no one here to prevent them and scarcity reigns throughout.

Tippoo has received a letter from Nana Farnavis at Poona to the following effect—"What signifies the death of Hyder do you make yourself easy in that score." Tippoo was much pleased with its contents and having sent for the Nana's vakils, who were then in his camp, presented them with clothes, jewels, and money. He every day by them writes to Poona, and corresponds himself by letter, besides which it is said that money has been sent to Poona to defray the expenses of the Darbar. I shall enquire particularly about this, and let you know. Tippoo has made the mutseddies and others perfectly happy and satisfied.

Abu Muhammad is at present Tippoo's favourite and adviser. He desired me to make his respectful compliments to the General and you.

Nursing Ray, having taken Tripetty and left a garrison there, went to besiege the fort of Chandragiri, where after a skirmish with the inhabitants he took possession of the pittahs and had invested the fort itself. In this moment Rogo Atcharry desired Nursing Ray to desist. Nursing Ray said that he acted by the General's orders. Rogo Atcharry replied the Company's order is necessary, upon which Nursing Ray returned to Tripetty. Meehraz is not upon good terms with Nursing Ray. Nursing Ray Sacheet, who is stationed here to represent matters, has been disgraced by the committee and driven away. The gomastah of Srenewas Atcharry is now aumildar of Tripetty.

Haliburton tells aumildars and others that the General is going to England, and that the Nabob's affairs are declining, and therefore need give themselves no uneasiness.

General Stuart with the whole army moved on the 14th January from the Mount and encamped near Vellant.

The Governor and Haliburton sent for Rogaram Pundit, and told him to accompany the army. They said General Stuart is desired to give you two companies of sepoys, do you keep them with you to settle your affairs. They said we have much business for you, make yourself therefore perfectly easy. Ragoram Pundit is accordingly gone with the army.

A true translation,
THOMAS GRAHAM,
Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 20 F. D.—23-5-99.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 3rd March to 28th April 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 3rd March 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 27th ultimo.

Agreed that the following letter be written to MR. BRISTOW :—

SIR,—We shall in this reply separately to your letter of the 30th December enclosing your instructions to Major Palmer of the 23rd of that month.

We approve of the choice which you have advised the Vizier to make of Major Palmer to conduct the negociation with Fyzulla Cawn, but we think that the instructions you have given him are not sufficiently explicit, and we take particular notice of one clause in them which we fear will defeat it altogether. We allude to the following heads :—

On your arrival at Rampore you will be able to form a more correct judgment of the probability of the success of your negociations, and as the Vizier reposes entire confidence in your integrity and abilities he authorises you to suspend the communication of his commands to Fyzulla Cawn if you should find they were likely to be discharged.

Your failing would throw a slight upon the Vizier's dignity and authority, and in case of resistance it would be necessary to be informed of the pleasure of the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council with regard to enforcing these measures. To know whether Fyzulla Cawn is likely to disobey the commands of the Vizier, Major Palmer must first make those commands known to him which is in effect to make the communication which Major Palmer is instructed to suspend in the case supposed of a likelihood of their being disobeyed. We shall adopt the sentiments but vary the mode of its application.

We shall now proceed to specify in distinct articles the points which we wish to have obtained and which we conclude from the general tenor of the instructions which you have given to Major Palmer to be conformable to the wishes of the Nabob Vizier.

1st.—To convert the stipulation for a body of five thousand horse and foot into a fixed subsidy.

It was certainly understood at the time that the treaty was concluded of which this stipulation was a part, that it applied solely to cavalry, as the Nabob Vizier, possessing the service of our forces, could not possibly require infantry, and least of all such infantry as Fyzulla Cawn could furnish, and a single horseman included in the aid which Fyzulla Cawn might furnish would prove a literal compliance with the stipulation. The number therefore of horse implied by it ought at least to be ascertained. We will suppose five thousand, and, allowing the exigency for their attendance to exist only in the proportion of

one year in five, reduce the demand to one thousand for the computation of the subsidy, which, at the rate of fifty rupees per man, will amount to fifty thousand per mensem. This may serve for the basis of this article in the negociation upon it, but in the conclusion of it we must trust to the discretion and integrity of Major Palmer.

If Fyzulla Cawn shall refuse to treat for a subsidy, and claim the benefit of his original agreement in its literal expression, he possesses a right which we cannot dispute, and it will in that case remain only to fix the precise number of horse which he shall furnish, which ought at least to exceed 2,500. This also must be left for discretional adjustment.

2ndly.—To demand the surrender of all the rayats of the Nabob Vizier's dominions to whom Fyzulla has given protection and service, or an annual tribute in compensation for the loss sustained by the Nabob Vizier in his revenues thus transferred to Fyzulla Cawn. His encouragement of the defection of the subjects of his sovereign lord, and his acceptance of their allegiance is contrary to the most ancient and fundamental laws of the constitution of Hindustan, and a crime against the Nabob Vizier, his sovereign. You have stated the increase of his jaghir occasioned by this act at the moderate sum of fifteen lakhs. The tribute ought at least to be one-third of the amount.

3rdly.—We conceive that Fyzulla Cawn himself may be disposed to yield to the preceding demand on the additional condition of being allowed to hold his lands in Ultanagan instead of his present tenure by jaghir. This we think the Vizier can have no objection to grant, and we recommend it. But for this a fine or peshcush ought to be immediately paid in the customary proportion of the jumma estimated at 30 lacks.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 23rd January 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 10th March 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 6th instant.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., Fort William.

DEAR SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the treaty betwixt the English Governor and the Mahratta State was this day completely and finally ratified. In the morning Mahadajee Scindia attended with all his principal officers, did me the honor to pay me a long visit as a public demonstration of his friendship towards the English Government, after which we proceeded to his tent, where, in the presence of a very numerous assembly, the ratified treaties were formally interchanged, the one under the seal of the Peishwa, and the

signature of Nanah Phurnovees being delivered to me, and the other under the seal of the Company and the signature of the Hon'ble Board to Mahadajee Scindia.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, with the utmost respect,

DEAR SIR,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

SCINDIA'S CAMP NEAR GWALIOR,
The 20th February 1783.

D. ANDERSON.

Ordered that all the guns of the garrison be fired tomorrow morning in commemoration of the ratification of the Mahratta Treaty, and that salutes be likewise fired at every station of the army.

Ordered that a letter be immediately written and despatched overland to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, in triplicate, to be sent open to Mr. Anderson, for the addition of any fresh occurrences, and then to the Chief of Surat to be forwarded by way of Bussorah.

Fort William, the 11th March 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of yesterday.

Resolved that the following reply be written to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George :—

'To—The RIGHT HON'BLE LORD MACARTNEY, President, and Governor, and Select Committee of Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—In your letter of the 18th February some points are stated which demand immediate reply :—

You " desire our consent and approbation of a treaty to be concluded by you with Tippoo Saheb, on the terms of that which has been made respecting his father, with the Mahrattas, and you request that we communicate to you our sentiments on the propriety of your waiving so much of the clause relative to his immediate and entire evacuation of the Carnatic as may relate to the small posts and districts of Puducota and Holepady, or other small posts and districts of little value or importance, but convenient to and bordering upon the dominions of Tippoo Saheb, in case a treaty could not otherwise be concluded with him."

If you had not been pleased in the same letter to inform us of your having invested a native servant from Tanjore with written instructions to solicit a communication with any of Tippoo's agents we should have supposed, from

your preceding request for full and special powers to conclude a peace with Tippoo, that he had secretly solicited you for peace, and that he was ready to break off all connection with our natural enemies and to evacuate the Carnatic, if we assented to his retaining some small post in that country upon the confines of his dominions.

Your anxiety to obtain peace is laudable, and upon this point our wishes must be united, however we may differ about the most successful means for obtaining so desirable an object.

Your former applications to this Government for power to negociate were urgent, but we saw, and candidly told you, that every advance that you made to solicit peace from Hyder would only tend to encourage him in his views upon the absolute reduction of the Carnatic; as early as December 1781 we pointed out to you the proper steps for inducing Hyder to negociate. If we were well founded in those ideas any special powers that might be then granted to you to negociate with the invader of the Carnatic could only be powers to surrender the country, or those parts of it of which Hyder wished an acknowledged possession and which in his possession might be said to command the whole. With the leaders of the French invasion there could be no negociation on your part. We accordingly informed you, in reply to your request for instructions to negociate in September last, that if Hyder Ally, with the aid of his new allies, and through our misfortunes, should press you to a situation of imminent necessity, that necessity and your own judgment must at once determine your last refuge and dictate your instructions.

Under a different aspect of affairs you again call upon us for instructions and you communicate to us, after various deductions of reasoning, the expedient you have adopted for opening a negociation with Tippoo.

After having lost the most favourable occasion that could he wished for expelling the Mysoreans out of the Carnatic, and even preventing Hyder's son from succeeding to any considerable part of the power of his father, you now request to be invested with powers to acknowledge Tippoo as the representative of Hyder, and to yield to him whatever his father in all his power amidst all our distresses was subjected to resign by the treaty which we had concluded with the Mahrattas.

It avails the interests of Great Britain in India but little that your President, in a long minute on the 11th of February last, appears sensible of the happy opportunity which has been lost for the recovery of the Carnatic, and the expulsion of our natural enemies; records of laborious altercation, stinging invective and mutual complaint are no satisfaction to the public in compensation for a neglect that may cost millions, and upon a field where immense sums had been expended to maintain our footing.

Uninformed of what General Stuart may have to produce in his own vindication against such heavy accusations, our regret is not lessened for the public misfortune, nor can we prevent ourselves from lamenting that the charge, if well founded, should fall upon an officer whom you have invested with the command of the army and the whole conduct of your military operations.

It would be very painful to our feelings to give you our real sentiments on the propriety as well as policy of the steps you have taken to solicit peace from Tippoo. It appears no less humiliating than an inauspicious measure to us that the representatives of the India Company should in solemn Council vest a servant of the Raja of Tanjore with written instructions to go to Conjeveram, upon a pretended purpose, to meet some friend who might have access to Tippoo, and that your Minister, thus introduced into the presence of the invader, should be directed to beg his commiseration to our people who are prisoners in his hands, should begin to give him advice to follow the example of his father in not forming any close connection with the French, and should be then authorised to say that upon the same principles "that the Company agreed to the Mahratta Treaty without requiring indemnification for their expense, so Tippoo might immediately avail himself of peace without paying the expenses of the war." Indeed we cannot but express our surprise that such

representations should receive your written sanction, and that after having taken such measures you should ask us for powers to conclude a treaty which would in essential points be contrary to the Mahratta Treaty then concluded, and of whose final ratification we gave you the firmest hope.

We request you to consider for a moment the use to which M. Bussy might turn your instructions to the Tanjore Vakeel, if Tippoo Saheb made them known to him, which would probably be the case.

As to the effect which those instructions might have produced at Poona, we are now very fortunately guarded against it; in a former letter we informed you of the final ratification and interchange of the Mahratta Treaty, and which constitutes the peace with Tippoo Sahib, on the only footing on which we are now at liberty to accede to it, especially as by a letter from Mr. Anderson, dated * * * * we are informed that Mahadajee Scindia and he were preparing to concert measures for carrying the spirit of the treaty into execution, and the former had actually written to Tippoo Saheb requiring his conformity to it. If Tippoo acquiesces it will leave our natural enemies without aid, the most desirable object that remains for Great Britain in India. When the spirit of that article went to the absolute recovery of the Carnatic from Hyder with the liberty of our people who are prisoners in his hands, and when all that was granted in return was *the* country that had been *taken* from the Mahrattas, we leave you to reflect upon the fairness as well as policy of your declaration through the agent of Tanjore.

You will carefully avoid any infraction of the article which relates to the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote will bring you any further instructions we may have to send upon this subject. We are sorry to be obliged to add that whether we look to the service of the field, or even the success of your negociations upon the Coast, we must now place our chief hopes in his presence there at the head of the army. In the mean time we avoid taking any notice of your arguments for the destruction of Negapatam; we wish the event to prove the superior solidity of your reasoning; we suppose that from the proposal of your President our army has likewise effected the destruction of Wandewash and Carangooly.

We are, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 11th March 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 15th March 1783.

Saturday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *Commander-in-Chief.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 11th instant.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the following letters which he has received from MR. ANDERSON:—

27th February 1783.

HON'BLE SIR,—Although you are already generally informed of the ratification of the treaty betwixt the English Government and Mahratta State,

yet as every circumstance relative to that important transaction, however minute, will doubtless be interesting to you, I shall now beg leave to lay before you a more particular detail of my late proceedings, in which I shall touch on those matters that have already been communicated to you only so far as the repetition of them may be necessary for the sake of connecting and rendering the whole subject more clear and perspicuous.

For a considerable time previous to the ratification the reiterated delays which I experienced threw me into much perplexity and gave me no small degree of anxiety, and they were the more extraordinary and unaccountable as no subject of difference apparently remained betwixt Scindia and me. Bow Bucksey paid me several visits, which, as nothing material was urged, seemed more calculated to amuse me than to forward the business of the treaty. Yet I remarked that he seldom left me without introducing in some way or other the subject of Ragonath Row. And at one time he desired me to compose the draft of the letters which I intended to write to him. My answers regarding Ragonath Row were invariably the same, and I generally declined to impede the business of the ratification by the previous decision of drafts of letters or any matters which were not to take place till afterwards. If he had any motive for thus mentioning Ragonath Row, he knew too well the punctilious and inflexible resolution I had formed to venture either to express his wishes more pointedly or to express any dissatisfaction with my answers; he always left me with an appearance of satisfaction as if nothing was wanting but the form of exchanging the ratifications and he always returned with new pretences of delay.

In this period of embarrassment it was my endeavour to suppress every mark of impatience or anxiety. I contented myself with representing in as calm a manner as possible the dangers of delay, which, if carried to too great a length, might prove fatal to the business which Scindia and I had long laboured to effect, and had brought so near a conclusion—an event which in the present state of affairs appeared infinitely more to be apprehended by the Mahrattas than by us.

At length, after an interval of a few days, Bow Bucksey paid me a visit on the 22nd, and with an apparent satisfaction in his countenance entered into a long detail. He said that some differences had arisen which had made him almost ashamed to see me, but that everything was at last happily obviated. He remarked on the delicate situation in which his master had been placed, as the mediator betwixt us and the Peishwa obliged him to consult the dispositions and inclinations of both parties, a situation in itself naturally difficult, and in the present case rendered more so from the circumstances of the youth of the Peishwa, who was incapable of acting and judging for himself, and whose affairs were therefore under the management of Ministers not firmly united among themselves, and differing in their dispositions and political views; that Nizam Ally and Mahadajee, from whatever cause, had long been averse to the final ratification of the late agreement and had been indefatigble in their endeavours to frustrate it; that unluckily his own absence from Poona, and the jealousy of Hurry Punt and Tukojee Holkar, had long rendered their endeavours in that quarter but too successful, and had their endeavours met with the smallest encouragement from you their ends would have been too fully effected, but fortunately the firmness with which you had acted in rejecting their application, and in pursuing the present negociation in spite of every insinuation against it, had enabled him to surmount all difficulties and bring the business to a happy conclusion; that even to the very last, however, the influence of their party had created to him great uneasiness, as Nerve Sheo Deo, the Poona Vakeel, had been ordered to state such propositions and objections as seemed formed to counteract the ratification; that on this account a distant dispute had lately arisen betwixt him and Nerve Sheo Deo, and matters had been carried to such a length that he had been under a necessity of declaring that he lamented his ever engaging in the business, and as he saw they were obstinately bent on ruining the affairs of their master, he must decline all further interference, and after the treatment he had received he should think himself fully

justified in espousing the cause and interests of the English; that this dispute continued for some days till at last Nerve Sheo, on Scindia's agreeing to sign certain explanatory assurances, waived all further objection and delivered up the treaty which had hitherto been in his possession, and that everything was now fully settled. Here I interrupted Bow Bucksey by observing that Scindia knew my sentiments on every subject, and that I hoped he had been careful to enter into no stipulations and give no assurances which might hereafter be found inconsistent with them; he assured me that Scindia had been sufficiently cautious in this respect. Bow Bucksey then proceeded. He expressed some apprehensions of the continuance of the intrigues of the Nizam and Mahadajee, and he said that his master was on this account extremely solicitous that he might in future be the channel of negociation betwixt us and the Poona Government. He expatiated on the importance of the charge he had taken upon himself as guarantee of the treaty, and observed that as he was now fully satisfied that the conditions of it would be inviolably preserved by the Peishwa, he wishes to have some written assurances to the same purport from us. He then produced two papers, the one contained a request to the above purport and stated the form of the assurances which he requested from me; it was nearly in these words—"That I should engage to procure him a full assurance from you that we would adhere strictly to the treaty and that on all occasions we would be regulated by his advice." This was, he said, intended for immediate satisfaction, and to remain as a voucher in his hands; the other paper, he said, was of a secret nature and might be submitted to you when I returned to Calcutta. It was nearly to the same purport as the former, with an additional paragraph, mentioning that, as the Peishwa was an infant, it was hoped that in case his Ministers should ever act improper, we would not be in a haste to break with the Peishwa, but be regulated by Scindia's advice, and assist him to bring the Ministers to a proper understanding. Bow Bucksey then concluded with delivering me a message from Scindia that he intended to pay me a visit on the 24th and proposed that we should afterwards proceed to his tent and interchange the treaty.

Had Scindia requested from me any written assurance at the time of concluding the treaty at Salbai, I should have readily given it, but I felt a reluctance to do it now, especially as there were some explanations in the proposed form which I could not entirely approve. And I feared that an attempt to alter them might only afford new ground for procrastination. I therefore endeavoured to convince Bow Bucksey that such a paper from me was unnecesary, as the original treaties contained every obligation that he would require and might always be referred to. It was in vain, however, to argue. The Bow had received orders from his master to make the proposal, and no reasons could make him recede from it. Finding, therefore, that I was only losing time, I changed my system. I acquiesced in his proposal, and without remarking on the parts that were exceptionable I told him that I should draw out such an obligation as I hoped would prove fully satisfactory, but that I must in the same manner require one from Scindia.

Bow Bucksey returned to me the next morning. I had in the mean time drawn up the two obligations. In the preamble of both the words of the article of the treaty were recited, the one concluded with a promise to Scindia that we would adhere to the terms of the treaty, and that I would hereafter procure him a formal assurance to the same purpose from you; the other concluded with a promise from him that in case the Peishwa would infringe the treaty he would join us in bringing him to reason; these papers I delivered to Bow Bucksey; the former was copied fair and was not to be subject to altertions. As to the latter I submitted it as a form for Scindia's consideration; and I requested it merely as a counterpart to the one which he desired from me, but I observed that for my own part I considered both as unnecessary; Bow Bucksey not being prepared to give an answer deferred it till he should consult with Scindia. In the mean time he took out some memorandums and recapitulated all the different subjects which for some months passed had been discussed betwixt him and me, and I repeated him all my former answers. The only point which has not been mentioned to you was a proposal that orders should

be given to the gentlemen at Bombay not to grant a refuge to the subjects of the Mahratta Government who might fly to them for protection. My answer was, that no stipulation of this kind was made in the treaty; that if a mutual article to this purpose was observed I would write to you on the subject, but that I had now no power to make new engagements without first applying to you for instructions.

On the morning of the 24th, when Bow Bucksey came to advise me of Scindia's being ready to set out on his visit to me, he said that he agreed with me in thinking that the obligations which had been proposed betwixt Scindia and me would be unnecessary. I have mentioned this matter fully because I think it is very probable that something of the kind may hereafter be resumed on my returning to Calcutta.

Scindia came soon after, and was attended by all his chiefs of any rank or distinction in the army. After we had sat about an hour in public, we retired to a separate tent, where only two or three of his most confidential people were present; he referred in general to what had been communicated to me by Bow Bucksey on the 22nd; he made an apology for the length of time that I had been detained with him on this business; he professed in the strongest terms his attachment towards you and his firm determination to support the treaty inviolably; he inveighed against Nizam Ally and Mahadajee, whose officious interposition had given him so much trouble, and he expressed his wishes that you would guard against their intrigues by making him the channel of negotiation and consulting him alone on all subjects concerning the Poona Government. This seemed the principal scope and object of the conference. I assured him in answer that as the business of the late treaty had been begun, and entirely conducted through him and under his mediation; as his firmness and constancy had at last brought it to a happy conclusion, and as he was appointed in the treaty itself to be the guarantee to whom both parties were to look for the performance, from all these circumstances, as well as from the situation of his territories, he was the person whom you would naturally consult with on every occasion of importance relative to the Peishwa, and that I was happy to believe, from the high opinion which you always expressed of his friendship, steadiness, and good faith, that your inclinations would lead you to make him the principal channel of your future connection with the Mahratta Government. We had afterwards some conversation on the measures to be taken for carrying the treaty into execution; he said that he intended to send a pundit for that purpose to Surat, and asked whether any person would be sent by us, or whether a letter would be sufficient. It was not his desire that either my brother or myself should go; he seemed long to have expected that my brother should remain with him, and that after settling a few matters in consequence of the treaty I should return to my duty in Bengal, and speaking on this subject he expressed much satisfaction at the thought of my being with you in Calcutta, as he said it would be the same as if he were himself there. To send any person from Calcutta to Poona would be too late for the present occasion. He however seemed to think such a measure might be very expedient hereafter, so that in case of any little disputes arising betwixt the Bombay Government and the Ministers, you might have a person on the spot who could either settle them by his interference or transmit an impartial representation to you. This might be considered hereafter; for the present it was agreed that a letter would be sufficient. I had some thoughts of mentioning Mr. Chapman, but I was deterred from the apprehensions that his situation at Nagpore might make it a difficulty for him to go without offending Moodajee Bonsla, and I had some doubts that lest Scindia should consider such a measure as tending indirectly to give Moodajee an interference.

I afterwards required some explanation from him regarding the differences in the original and ratified treaties. He declared that in case any discussion arising hereafter on words, the original treaty must be referred to, and on the subject of Hyder Ali, he expressly said there was nothing in the treaty which restricted us from acting against him or his successors till the terms of the 9th article should be complied with, at the requisition of the Peishwa; these explanations I thought necessary to obviate any cavils that might be made on a future occasion. After sitting some hours Scindia took his leave. On his

return home(?) I understand that he paid a visit to Nerve Sheo Deo, the Poona Vakeel; but I know not what particulars passed between them.

About an hour afterwards, according to the plan which had been settled, I followed Scindia to his tent, where, in the presence of a number of his principal officers, we proceeded to exchange the ratifications, Scindia and I reciprocally attesting with our signatures the date of the delivery; when this important ceremony was finished, all who were present joined in expressing their joy; Nerve Sheo had excused himself from attending in person on account of indisposition, but all his people, I observed, were present, and one in particular named Dadjee, to whom Scindia seemed to shew great attention.

Before I conclude this narrative permit me to indulge myself for a moment in the pleasing task of tendering a tribute of justice to Mahadajee Scindia. In the course of this long negociation, which has throughout been strongly tinctured with suspicion and distrust, many circumstances have passed to impress us with unfavourable opinions; new and unreasonable propositions have frequently been started and withdrawn, and one doubt has scarcely been obviated when another has been suggested. Yet we may perhaps find much apology for Scindia's conduct when we reflect that he has been acting for a superior and probably been often obliged to give way to the dictates of Ministers, by nature grasping and suspicious, from circumstances rendered arrogant, and many of them from peculiar views of selfish policy absolutely averse to the negociation. His conduct on the subject of Broach, where his own interests were only concerned, has formed a very agreeable contrast. Nothing can exceed the delicacy which he has shown in this affair. You may remember that he executed the original treaty without excepting any written testimony from me of your intentions. He had now completed the ratification without requiring the delivery of your grant, which is at this moment still in my possession. Since the information I gave him about seven months ago of the arrival of your grant, the subject has scarcely been mentioned more than once, and then only in consequence of my repeating the nature of the obligation which you expected from him regarding the privilege of trade; without requiring any written stipulation or importuning me for explanations, or betraying the slightest mark of suspicion, he seems throughout the whole of this business to have relied implicitly on the honour and generosity of the English Government. Candour surely requires that we should judge of his character rather from his conduct in those matters when he is left at liberty and where his own interest only is affected, than from the part which he is constrained to act in negotiating on behalf of the Peishwa.

Bow Bucksey is to be with me tomorrow to concert several steps to be taken for carrying the treaty into execution, so that I shall probably have occasion to do myself the honour of addressing you again soon.

I am with utmost respect,

DEAR SIR,

Your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

D. ANDERSON.

Fort William, the 20th March 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, *left Calcutta this morning to proceed down the river.*

MR. STABLES, *absent with* SIR EYRE COOTE.

Read and approved the proceedings of the 15th.

The Members of the Board having delivered their opinions upon the questions proposed by the Governor-General in the last Consultation they are now read and recorded.

MR. STABLES—In answer to the first question referred in the Governor-General's minute the 15th March 1783.

It is my opinion that the treaty concluded with the Mahrattas ought to be kept inviolate on our part, the 9th Article of which ought to be the basis for bringing on a treaty with Tippoo Saheb.

Peace with him in every point of view is so desirable, so necessary for the safety of the lives of our unfortunate prisoners in his power, and such complete ruin to the designs of our natural enemies, the French, upon the Carnatic, that we ought to enforce any opportunity of making peace with him upon honorable terms.

2nd.—A copy of the 9th Article of the treaty with the Mahrattas should be sent to Tippoo Saheb and his acquiescence required to it.

3rd.—The President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have not in my opinion counteracted the purposes of the treaty concluded with the Peishwa at the time when their instructions were given to treat with Tippoo. This treaty of peace was not in our possession and therefore not binding on either side.

4th.—The President and Select Committee of Fort St. George certainly had not absolute authority from the Court of Directors or from this Board to negociate a treaty with Tippoo. But the Court of Directors, in several parts of their letter to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, express their earnest wishes for peace with Tippoo, and in my opinion the necessity for entering upon a negociation which is too well known to the Board justifies the measure.

5th.—Answered in the 4th.

6th.—It is unnecessary at present to give my opinion on this question. An arrangement has taken place regarding the assignment from the Nabob of the Carnatic, a copy of which Sir Eyre Coote takes with him to the coast.

I have the most sanguine hopes that the presence of a General already respected, and adored by our own army, and dreaded by the enemy will give a fortunate change to our affairs on the coast; what I most lament is that the General on whom so much depends, whose conduct I admire and approve, has to carry on the public service under the disadvantages of a bad state of health and a broken constitution.

7th.—I beg leave not to give my opinion upon a supposed case which I hope may never happen.

MR. MACPHERSON—I have perused with the greatest attention Sir Eyre Coote's minute, on which the preceding questions, as proposed by the Governor-General, are founded.

The public zeal which the Commander-in-Chief testifies upon the present occasion is no new subject of admiration. It is in conformity to the principle which has actuated the long series of his services to the Company and the public.

Had he been at the head of our forces in the Carnatic at the crisis of Hyder's death, and properly supported by the Presidency of Fort St. George, I am convinced he would have turned that great event to the immediate recovery of the Carnatic, and the reduction of the French forces at Cuddalore. Various events rendered the period immediately subsequent to Hyder's death the most favorable that the managers of our affairs upon the coast could have wished for re-establishing the Company's prosperity. Tippoo Saheb was on the other side of India and had been defeated by Colonel Macleod, the repeated and most urgent interference of this Government had at length compelled the Presidency

of Bombay to act vigorously and to send General Mathews at the head of a considerable force against the most valuable possessions that belonged to Hyder. There could be little doubt of his success. The Nizam if he was not favorably disposed to our interests, was at that period engaged in war with one of his own tributaries; the Mahratta peace had been actually signed at Poona and as early as October last we informed the Presidency of Fort St George of Scindia's positive declarations to us about the validity of the peace.

The French troops were at this time sickly and in every distress at Cuddalore.

How a season in which the greatest advantages could have been gained was permitted to pass in inactivity the Government of Madras have to explain. Lord Macartney, in his minute of the 11th of February, lays the whole of this public neglect to the charge of Major-General Stuart. He seems fully sensible of the advantages which were neglected, but the representation, if founded in justice, comes too late, nor can we form any decided opinion upon the subject as we are not furnished with General Stuart's answer.

After our army was at length in a condition to move to meet Tippoo Saheb nothing decisive seems to have been attempted, and it appears very extraordinary that the President and Select Committee should, under the apprehension of the expected arrival of M. Bussy with considerable force, enter upon a plan to solicit a negotiation with Tippoo at the same time that they subject General Stuart to restrictions against a vigorous effort in the field.

Upon the whole it is evident that there has been on the late favorable occasion great mismanagement somewhere in the conduct of public affairs at Fort St. George, and that coincidence of fortunate events has been neglected, which might and ought to have been improved for the re-establishment of the Company's prosperity.

This public neglect presses most severely upon this Government, which both in efforts of laborious negotiation and liberal supply had made the recovery of the Carnatic the object of its unwearied pursuit. We now see with pain that this great work requires a repetition of our efforts, and that on the field where immense sums have been expended to maintain our footing, a season of advantage has been lost and millions must still be provided when our means are nearly exhausted.

The only prospects we have for an honorable and speedy close to the invasion of the Carnatic from Mysore is the success of General Mathews and the speedy return of Sir Eyre Coote to the command of forces upon the coast.

The Governor-General, anxious to give Sir Eyre Coote a clear line for his conduct in a crisis of such interesting service, has proposed the preceding questions, and he wishes every member of the Board to record his answer or opinion upon each question.

It is equally requisite for those who give and who receive charge of public business that the orders for that business should be clear and specially defined. But orders which are formed for future and supposed cases may be very clear in their definition yet ultimately prove very embarrassing to the party who is to execute them. For he must be the judge, and be responsible that the situation of affairs in which he is to execute his orders applies exactly to the supposed case for which they were framed.

Thus we may *resolve* that in certain supposed events the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George would incur the penalty of the Act of Parliament of the 13th of the present reign. We may further *resolve* that in such cases the Commander-in-Chief should inforce the penalty. Yet when he comes to act in consequence of those resolutions he would probably find that the actual case was in many essential circumstances different from the supposed case upon which this Board resolved. He would therefore have to answer for the consequences. Though the circumstances of the actual case and that which we supposed were minutely the same, he would have to answer for the pro-

priety of carrying our resolves into execution, and to answer that they were reasonable as well as legal and judicious.

I have supposed the strongest possible case for the calm consideration of the Commander-in-Chief. But I am far from admitting that this Board should in any situation of affairs come to resolutions upon supposed events, and issue eventual and contingent orders, especially on the delicate and important subjects to which I have alluded.

In negotiation, likewise, it will be necessary to leave our representatives in the Carnatic the most ample powers, for such unexpected events may arise there as would render positive directions embarrassing and dangerous, and a contingency of events might require a total deviation from our orders.

If I am well founded in these ideas, the powers to Sir Eyre Coote from this Government should be ample and general, and he should understand fully that whatever our resolutions may be relative to the questions now before us, such resolutions being formed upon abstract or supposed grounds cannot vest him with the authority of orders in a future and contingent situation of affairs.

It is only when a case is represented to us in all its circumstances, and which has actually taken place, that we can resolve decidedly and authorize him as our representative to act finally and effectually.

I have made these observations to shew the Commander-in-Chief that it is equally necessary for him as for the Board that there should be no misconception on either side relative to the force of our present resolution. I wish for my own part to see him vested with every authority which this Government can confer, and, as on a former occasion (13th January), when he stated the conditions which would enable him to serve with efficacy in the Carnatic, I acceded to those conditions, so now I am ready, as far as my voice goes, to give him and pledge to him every support in my power. I would at the same time recommend to him, for his own case and the prosperity of our affairs, to avoid as much as possible all differences with the established Government at Fort St. George I am clear that Tippoo does not mean or wish to negotiate with the leaders of that Government, otherwise he would long since have made his application to them. They have not besides testified any very discerning management in their advances to him, and if he applies to Sir Eyre Coote upon his arrival upon the same principles that his father chose to negotiate with the General in preference to the Governor and Council, our powers for negotiation should be placed with the General where they can be effectual. I shall now proceed to give my opinion on the respective questions stated by the Governor-General The observations which I have made upon the subject in general must justify me for not giving my opinions more at large.

1st.—The 9th Article of the treaty, lately ratified with the Mahratta State should certainly, in as far as regards our faith to that State, be the rule of our conduct in any negotiation with the successors of Hyder.

But the great object for the British Empire in India is to counteract the designs of France and render the views of that natural enemy abortive; any measure that has decidedly that effect is the most urgent and political of all measures that can be now adopted. It goes to the immediate establishment of peace in Europe, and to break up the foundation which France has laid for power in the Carnatic before the arrival of her armaments that are charged with the superstructure. The first step to the destruction of that foundation is to effect a separation between the Mysoreans and the French forces and whether Sir Eyre Coote or the President and the Select Committee or the agents in this great work, we should leave them very ample powers. Indeed they must act as events arise. Our orders therefore should go to two points—*1st*, not to involve us with the Mahrattas; and, *2nd*, to endeavour at every hazard to destroy the power of the French.

2nd.—Every application from us to Tippoo that is not conducted with great management only adds to his consequences. He will communicate it to the French, and it will serve to oblige them to grant him more ample conditions of guarantee. While we leave him without courting a pacification with

him to reflect upon his situation, he will probably of himself make offers to treat with us. The article of the Mahratta treaty that related to his father has, by Scindia's account been sent to him. I think the General on his arrival might communicate to him, and if he is in any shape disposed to treat with us in consequence he will do so of his own accord. It rests with the prudence and ability of those who are at the head of our affairs to manage effectually in such cases, nor can we lay down precise rules for their guidance.

3rd.—I am free to own that the conduct of the President and Select Committee of Madras appears to me to have been neither able nor regular in the measures they adopted to solicit a negotiation with Tippoo. I think it was dangerous to give the Vakeel of Tanjore *written instructions* that implied future conditions upon their part, nor was it fair to assert, nor could it answer any purpose to admit, that we had no indemnification for the expences of the Mahratta war, was a treaty that bound Hyder to surrender his conquests and deliver up the prisoners no indemnification to us? What had the Mahrattas to indemnify their expences or in return for those revenues from their country which we have long enjoyed? It was not besides very creditable in the Company's representatives to give written instructions to any native agent before they were assured of his being received with suitable respect.

Before we pronounce the commencement of negotiations, any breach of the Act of Parliament, we must see the whole of the business, and know the success of the negotiation. I imagine nothing has been finally negotiated or concluded.

4th.—This is answered in the preceding question. The President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, as the representatives of the Company upon the spot, must be supposed to possess powers to open a negotiation, though they may not to conclude it finally but in cases of imminent necessity.

5th.—It does not appear to me that the President and Select Committee yet incurred the penalty of the Act by any measures that have come to our knowledge, and as that penalty is the highest punishment, so it never should be supposed to be incurred but in cases of undoubted and clear guilt. It ought not, and cannot be incurred constructively.

6th.—It will be time enough to answer this question when that answer can apply to acts that have declaredly taken place. The President and Select Committee have quoted orders from the Secret Committee, which we are not informed.

7th.—This question for the preceding reasons requires no immediate answer, and while the Board are investigating subjects of this nature, which lead to condemn the conduct of another Government, they should take into their consideration the many difficulties under which that Government is struggling. And they should particularly consider that the public dangers in pressing more immediately upon that Government may induce them to adopt measures of resource and negotiation, which they themselves would not approve of in a situation of greater prosperity.

SECRET DEPARTMENT,
The 19th March 1783.

MR. WHELER—I beg leave to deliver in the following opinions upon the questions proposed to the Board by the Governor-General in his minute of the 15th instant:—

In answer to Question 1st:—

I am of opinion that the 9th Article of the treaty concluded with the Peishwa determines the obligations and engagements which shall be binding between the Company and Tippoo Saheb, or whoever may be the eventual representative of Hyder Ally Cawn; that we are nevertheless at liberty to

conclude a new and separate treaty with him, as far as it may be conformable to the terms stipulated in the Treaty with the Peshwa: but that we cannot negotiate a treaty with him for any additional terms without the knowledge and concurrence of the Peshwa. At the same time I am of opinion that until the representative of Hyder Ali Cawn shall have performed the stipulations binding upon him, this Government is entitled to take any and every advantage determined by the chance of war in our favour.

In answer to Question 2nd:—

I am of opinion that that the treaty concluded with the Peshwa should be notified to Tippoo Saheb, or the representative of Hyder Ali Cawn in form, and that he be required to confirm it by a declaration of his acquiescence of it.

In answer to Question 3rd:—

The orders issued by the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have a tendency to counteract the purposes of the treaty lately concluded with the Peishwa. But the ratification of that treaty was not known to them when those orders were issued by them, and the knowledge of this event will, it is to be presumed, cause an immediate revocation of those orders; as the Board have no information that the Acts designed by the orders alluded to, have taken effect, I am of opinion that the purposes of the treaty have not yet been counteracted by the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George.

In answer to Question 4th:—

It does not appear to me that the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have authority from the Court of Directors, the Governor-General and Council, or such as could be derived from the plea of imminent necessity, to depute the Tanjore Vakeel or any other person to negotiate a treaty of peace with Tippoo Saheb.

In answer to Question 5th:—

In forming the preceding opinion which seems naturally to determine the present question, I adverted to the instructions communicated by this Board to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George under date the 19th October. The light in which I considered those instructions is apparent from the opinion I have given, and from that it follows that the President and Select Committee have made themselves subject to the penalty expressed in the Act. I do not, however, think this penalty should be enforced, as the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George appear to me rather to have exceeded the orders sent to them, than to have acted in opposition to them. These orders at all events furnish an argument in their favour, which should, I conceive, diminish the severity of censure, and prevail with this Board to suspend any resolution for enforcing the penalties of the Act of Parliament.

In answer to Question 6th:—

I do not think the faith of this Government bound to support their engagements with the Nabob Muhammad Ally Cawn at all risks or in contradiction to the orders of the Court of Directors. The construction to be put upon the orders contained in the 30th and 40th paragraphs of the General Letter appears to me doubtful. Before we determine the questions proposed, we ought, I think, to wait the arrival of an answer from the Presidency of Fort St. George to our letter conveying the engagements we have contracted with the Nabob Muhammad Ally, and our injunctions to carry them into execution. When their acquiescence or refusal with the reasons on which it is grounded are known, we may then with propriety, having every information before us, consider these questions.

The 15th March 1783.

Sir Eyre Coote, the 15th March 1783.

In answer to the Governor-General's first question, I am clearly of opinion that if the obligations and engagements contained in the treaty lately concluded

between us and the Peshwa, relative to Hyder Ally Cawn, are allowed to extend to Tippoo Saheb, this should undoubtedly be binding on both parties, nor in my humble opinion can we in such case, without the concurrence of the Mahratta State, conclude any new separate treaty or insist on any additional terms.

In answer to the second question it is my opinion that the engagements formed by the Company with the Peshwa should be left to operate by such communication as may have been made by the Mahrattas who are pledged for the performance of it on the part of Hyder, or whomsoever they may consider as his representative. The notification formerly given by me to Hyder Ally Cawn when the treaty was first agreed to, is fully sufficient to enable Tippoo Saheb, if he is peaceably inclined, to claim our performance of the terms of it. At all events it appears to me that until the six months after the treaties being complete shall have elapsed, neither of the parties in question are under a positive obligation to conform to the terms of it. During this interval I think an application should be made in such manner as may be deemed most advisable to the Mahratta Government to acquaint us whether or not they have taken any steps towards obtaining Tippoo Saheb's acquiescence in the terms stipulated for his father, taking occasion at the same time to suggest the probability of its being their opinion that as Tippoo Saheb is not recognised in the treaty, and has no claim founded upon heritable rights, he can have no just pretensions to make any demands on the grounds thereof. We ought to refer it also to the candid consideration of the Mahratta Government, whether some compensation should not be made by Tippoo Saheb to the Company and to their ally Nabob Muhammad Ally Cawn for the heavy losses they have mutually sustained by the cruel and unusual depredations committed by his father, Hyder Ally Cawn.

In answer to the third question I am of opinion that the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, by making and issuing orders for offering to cede certain territories of the Carnatic to Tippoo Saheb, who is already bound by the treaty to restore all territories of the Carnatic, of which he is already in possession, have counteracted the purposes of the lately treaty concluded with the Peshwa.

Fourth.—I do not think that the President and Select Committee had any sufficient authority either from the Court of Directors or from the Governor-General and Council to depute the Tanjore Vakeel or any other person to negotiate a treaty of peace with Tippoo Saheb, but as no specific limits can be set to the plea of imminent necessity, and as the circumstances supposed to constitute it, do so, or not, according to our own construction of them, I conceive the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George might under the latitude thereby given them commence negotiations, but agreeable to my idea of our situation could do nothing conclusive without reference first being had to this Board for their authority, and I think they ought to be called upon to prove the necessity which obliged them to take so humiliating a step.

Fifth.—It is my opinion that the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, unless they can prove the instance in which they have acted to have been a case of such imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone until the orders from the Governor-General and Council might arrive, have subjected themselves to the penalty prescribed by the clause in the Act of the 13th of His present Majesty.

Sixth.—It is my opinion that the faith of this Government and of the Company is pledged to maintain and reinforce the engagement lately entered into with the Nabob for the restoration of the revenues and sovereignty of the Carnatic to him.

Seventh.—It is my opinion that if the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George refuse to submit to the engagement referred to above, being an arrangement of a political nature made by the Governor-General and Council under the powers vested in them by Act of Parliament for transacting all such affairs, they will subject themselves to the penalty prescribed by the clause recited by the Governor-General's fifth question in the Act of the 13th of His present Majesty.

EYRE COOTE.

Governor-General.

To the questions proposed by me for the consideration of the Board in consequence of the minute of Sir Eyre Coote I offer the following replies :—

1st.—It is my opinion that the 9th Article of the treaty ought exclusively to bind and determine all the obligations and engagements which shall be binding between the Company and Tippoo Saheb, and that no separate treaty be concluded with him.

In this opinion I am confirmed by the information given by Mr. Anderson that Mahadajee *Scindia* had written to Tippoo Saheb and notified to him the condition of the treaty which included Hyder Ally Cawn, and which of course extended to his son and successor, Tippoo Saheb.

2nd.—It is my opinion that no notification of the treaty should be made on the part of our Government to Tippoo Saheb, because this is a formality belonging solely to the Peshwa or his representatives. We are bound to the Peshwa to maintain peace with Tippoo Saheb, and to Tippoo Saheb only through our engagement with the Peshwa. If the policy of Tippoo Saheb shall not be sufficient to obtain his acquiescence on the requisition of the Mahratta State, he will be less likely to yield it on ours as ours will imply a consciousness of our weakness, whereas an apparent indifference on our part after the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, the declared representative of our Government in the Carnatic, will be both productive of a contrary effect, and is in my opinion necessary to efface the impressions made by Lord Macartney's advances.

3rd.—The President and Select Committee of Fort St. George know that a treaty had been concluded with the Peshwa under full powers granted to the Ministers on both sides who were employed in framing it, and that we regarded it as binding, and they were early furnished with a copy of it. In the 9th Article of the treaty Hyder Ally Cawn was included, and the conditions of peace established with him ascertained and guaranteed by the Peishwa. With this knowledge the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have commenced a negotiation for peace with Tippoo Saheb by a direct treaty with him. They have therefore counteracted the purposes of that which was concluded by this Government with the Peshwa.

4th.—It is my opinion that the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George had no authority from the Court of Directors, nor from the Governor-General and Council, nor such as could be derived from the plea of imminent necessity to depute the Tanjore Vakeel or any other person to negotiate a treaty of peace with Tippoo Saheb. Copies of all orders from the Court of Directors and from the Select Committee of the Court of Directors to the Government of Fort St. George are sent also to us. We have none which give or imply this authority. The only authority which they can plead from this Board is expressed in the following words of a letter written on the 19th of October last, *viz.*:—

"Should he by the aid of his new allies, and through our misfortunes press you to a situation of imminent necessity, that necessity and your own judgment must at once determine your last refuge and dictate your instructions."

This refers the authority to the last plea, the plea of necessity, and contracts even that within limits so narrow that it in effect precludes it, since it allows them to treat only in the case of "*such imminent necessity*" as shall leave them but one resource, "*their last refuge.*"

They cannot surely say that they were reduced to this situation, for they had a more powerful army than that which Sir Eyre Coote before commanded; they had a larger store of provisions, and their enemy yet unsettled in his new authority, his army diminished, and in a state of fatal inaction. They were therefore certainly not reduced to such a state of imminent necessity as must determine their last refuge. They had consequently no authority to negociate a treaty of peace with Tippoo Saheb.

5th.—It is my opinion that the President and Select Committee have subjected themselves to the penalty prescribed by Act of Parliament in negotiating

a treaty of peace with Tippoo Saheb without the consent and approbation of the Governor-General and Council without a case of imminent necessity and without special orders from the Company.

6th.—It is my opinion that the faith of this Government and of the Company is pledged to maintain and enforce the engagements made with the Nabob Wallah Jah for restoring to him the possession and charge of the revenues and sovereignty of the Carnatic. In this resolution, the obligation of which exists independently of the Court of Directors, since the act of the Board was absolute and prior to their orders respecting the assignment, and being done under the authority of the Act of Parliament is irrevocably binding as every lawful agreement in its nature must be against every subsequent authority. The Governor-General and Council are supported by the clear declaration of the Court of Directors themselves, on whose authority Lord Macartney supports his refusal to restore the powers of the assignment, for they say that "as we have cancelled the agreement under the authority of which this Committee was formed so we direct that the Committee itself be immediately abolished, unless the Nabob shall of his own free will and accord make it his particular request that his revenues shall continue to be so managed." It is true that in a subsequent paragraph of the same letter they add in consequence of subsequent advices received by the *Swallow*, that "upon a supposition that this new system will lead to the increase of His Highness's revenues, &c." we acquiesce therein, as the Nabob has assured us, in a letter of the 26th January last, that his assignment of the revenues of his country was a voluntary act of his own.

But the Nabob, in the letter which is quoted for the acquiescence of the Court of Directors, expressly declares the assignment to have been, though an act of his own, an act done in consequence of the agreement which they have cancelled, and he has declared that he will not consent to the continuance of it, therefore by their own reasoning as *they have cancelled the agreement and as the Nabob's assignment* in its actual state *is not a voluntary act of his own*, they direct the Committee to be abolished, by which they manifestly meant that the assignment should be cancelled for the management of which the Committee was appointed.

This is a truth so clear in itself that it is an injury to it to prove it by argument, and I am sorry to have been reduced to it by the bold attempt made by Lord Macartney to shelter himself under a forced ambiguity of the Company's orders; but if he shall avail himself of so weak a hold; if with his pretended authority he shall dare to oppose and break the engagement which this Government has made with the Nabob Wallah Jah, I am myself unalterably resolved that however the other Members of the Board may think themselves bound to temporize, and though I shall stand, as I trust I shall not, single in my opinion, I will move for the suspension of him or them, whoever they may be, who shall thus violate the public faith which this Government has pledged. Mr. Wheler and myself were the only members who composed this Government when the original treaty or agreement was concluded with the Nabob Wallah Jah, upon which the assignment of the Nabob's revenue in its actual state was formed, and we are the unfortunate authors of every misery and disgrace which the Nabob has sustained as the effect of that engagement. I will not, and I trust that I might safely assume the person of my colleague in conjunction with my own, and declare that we will not subject ourselves to the guilt of abandoning the Nabob to those effects of our act, but afford him every relief and every redress which we have it in our powers constitutionally to afford him. The Board have declared the assignment annulled by Lord Macartney's infringement of the essential conditions of it, and in this the opinion of all the members were unanimous. We have also required and commanded that the powers and charge assumed in virtue of the assignment be restored to the Nabob. As the assignment was granted under the engagement made by this Government with the Nabob in May 1781, as this Government possessed an undoubted right to make such an engagement, as the assignment being part of it, ceased to exist when we declared it to be cancelled, as Lord Macartney has no authority to form any treaty with the Nabob without our consent, not having the special orders of the Court of Directors for it, and with much stronger reasoning he cannot force on the Nabob an arrangement to which he refuses his

consent, and in contradiction of an engagement made by this Government with the Nabob, this Government is undoubtedly bound to support its engagement and to exercise every power which it possesses for that end. The exercise of those powers is not optional but obligatory. Having acted under them, we are bound to maintain them, and are criminal to that high authority which entrusted us with them, if we abandon them.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 1st April 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 24th ultimo.

Translation of a Persian paper given by Scindia to MR. ANDERSON.

The Peshwa will send to Hyder Ally Cawn and procure from him the restitution of the country he has taken from the Nabob Muhammad Ally Cawn and the English Company, and likewise the enlargement of whatever prisoners may have been taken. So long as the said Hyder Ally Cawn shall remain at peace with the Peshwa, the English shall not act hostilely towards him. If Hyder, disregarding the interposition of the Peshwa, shall continue hostile, in that case the Peshwa and the English will unite and take his country. Whatever part may belong to the Nabob Muhammad Ally and the Company shall be restored to them, and the part belonging to the Peshwa shall be restored to him. Any other part of Hyder's possessions which may be taken shall be divided into three equal shares between the Peshwa and Scindia and the Company, and the shares shall be assigned to each as may be most convenient from the vicinity of their respective territories. If, after this, Hyder shall propose peace the Peshwa and the English will make peace with him jointly. But if Hyder should propose peace to the English, without the knowledge of the Peshwa, the English shall not agree to it.

A treaty to this effect being settled between the English and the Peshwa, no deviation shall take place on the part of either.

Governor-General.

Governor-General's minute.

Approved with the exception of Bidenoor and its dependencies, which having been and taken and in our complete possession before the interchange of the treaty, ought to remain our separate property. Mr. Anderson to be directed to claim this exception, but not absolutely.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Agreed.

EDWARD WHELER.

J. McPherson, Esq.'s minute.

I think it is impossible in our present situation to give precise instructions to Mr. Anderson. He should be directed to ascertain from General Mathew the obligations which the latter has entered into with the Manager of Bidenoor. These were

agreed to by General Mathew; the country of Bidenoor was surrendered in consequence, therefore the Company is responsible for the full and complete performance of the promise and engagement of General Mathew. Of these I have no idea. Scindia's proposition appears to me fair and just, if Tippoo Saheb did not comply with the 9th Article of the Mahratta treaty, and it is a proof to me of his sincerity, that he proposes no part of Tippoo's country or a consideration for it to himself. Mr. Anderson should not enter into any definitive arrangement till there is an answer from Tippoo to the Peshwa. In the mean time we should inform Scindia that as Tippoo assists the French so we must carry on the war till he evacuates the Carnatic, and if united war against Tippoo, and of course the French, must be the result, and that we cannot separate Tippoo from them, I think Scindia's proposal is liberal and just, and shonld not he discountenanced. Copies of Scindia's letter and proposition should be sent to Sir Eyre Coote to communicate them to the Government of Madras.

I. McP.

I agree.

J. S.

The Governor-General is requested to communicate the sentiments of the Board contained in the above minutes in his reply to Mr. Anderson.

Resolved that the following letter be written to Fort St. George:—

To—The Select Committee at Fort St. George.

My Lord and Gentlemen,—On the 10th of last month we did ourselves the honour to address you in consequence of some letters which we had received from your Right Hon'ble President, and which indicated a counteraction to his administration, and announced apprehensions of an opposition that might break the spirit and weaken the exertions of your Government.

In expressing our anxiety at such inexplicit, yet alarming insinuations, and in wishing to be informed of the real cause of such apprehensions, we wished to observe a delicacy which could not but be suited to the occasion. You have been pleased to avail yourselves of our conduct upon this occasion in a very extraordinary manner. For in reply to our desire of an unambiguous explanation on a subject of such public concern, you favour us with a collected map of complaints and invectives against this Government, against the Nabob of Arcot, and his Ministers, against the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in India, against the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's fleet, against your own Provincial Commander-in-Chief, and again against this Government; after filling up the catalogue of your repeated distresses and accusations, and to shew your surprise at the explanation we required, you wish to know "whether the difficulties and impediments which you have thus described are not sufficient to have the tendency of breaking the spirit and weakening the exertions of our Government."

Letter to Select Committee of Fort St. George.

Had you been pleased in so general a charge of impeachment against your colleagues in the public service to take cognisance of the co-operative support which was till of late withheld from you by the Presidency of Bombay, your description of the universal misconduct of the Manager of the Public Affairs in India (the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George excepted) would have been complete.

When persons in your situation venture thus gravely and upon record to criminate a superior Government, and officers of the highest rank of the State, whose services have not only saved the dominions of the India Company, but added to the military honors of Great Britain, a dispassionate reader of the

accusations which you thus pronounce as Censors of the State could only admire your temerity. The motives of your conduct would appear too glaring to attract any approbation. Those who are conscious of real merit in their own services seldom labour to strip away the reputation of others. Honors thus abstracted suit not the detractors, nor can they for a moment cover their mismanagement. No artifice of reasoning, no perversion of distorted quotations, no insinuations of delinquency, no stings covered with compliment, no mechanism of the arts of colouring or sophistry can strip Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, nor Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, of having in repeated and well-fought days defeated the powerful invaders of the Carnatic on the ocean and in the field.

The Nabob of Arcot, the first and most valuable ally of the Company, is the natural prey of your attack, and had you only confined your attacks to him and to this Government, we should have sent them without a comment to the Company for their consideration. But when you venture to impeach with undistinguished indecency those great officers of the public to whose efforts Great Britain is indebted for the safety of India, and in the continuance of whose services the best hopes of the public are placed, you act criminally towards your country, and in the present crisis of affairs no crime can be greater, for none can have a more dangerous tendency than a conduct of which the effects may be to sever from the State the services of her best commanders by sea and land.

Prudence, if not decency, should restrain the servants of the Company from signing such injurious representations. We insist on your discontinuance of them to this Government. Your public consultations are the constitutional field for your discussion upon public affairs. There you may state to your employers your opinions at full length upon any subject, and in your own vindication. But the Company can never approve of your turning the privilege of their representation to accusations of impeachment against the reputation of officers high in His Majesty's service, very high in the estimation of their country, and to whom the Company are indebted for the present security of their possessions. In your letter, to which we are now replying, it is rather unfortunate amidst your universal accusations against your colleagues in the public scene, that the reputation which you would wish to ascribe to yourselves particularly is not founded upon what you have actually done but on what you have been prevented from doing.

Now it appears from events and your real management that nothing could be more fortunate than that you were not possessed of those powers for negotiation which you state to have been withheld from you.

Had we vested you with powers to negociate with Hyder, prior and subsequent to the signing of the Mahratta peace, we are convinced you would have resigned to him the passes, if not a great part of the Carnatic, without any security for his effectual separation from our natural enemies. Had we empowered you to negotiate with the Nizam upon the death of Bassaulet Jung, we are aware of the scene that would have followed, especially if we had countenanced your correspondence with Etysham Jung, his rebellious tributary.

Your management from the time of Sir Eyre Coote's departure from the Coast, and at a crisis the most favourable for recovering the Carnatic, and when you had the unparticipated conduct of the war, with an increased army and the most liberal supplies, your management at such a period when your efforts have only produced the destruction of three of your own forts, warrants us in our conviction of not only the expediency but necessity of the powers which Sir Eyre Coote has all along considered as essential to his department. In regard to your complaint of want of powers to treat with Tippoo, we must be free enough to declare to you that from the specimen you have given us of the dignity and address of your management in what you have reported of your negotiation with him, we would not think it proper to give you plenary powers even if the Mahratta treaty had not taken place, and if Scindia had not called on Tippoo to comply with its stipulation relative to Hyder.

Neither the death of the "obstinate" Hyder, as you call him, the apparent interest of his successor to make peace, nor even the actual ratification of the

Mahratta treaty, of which we gave you certain hopes, could change that ground of policy which in all countries, but especially in this, forms the readiest and the easiest road to peace.

That policy consists in a vigorous prosecution of the war; moderation amidst success, firmness in every adverse change of fortune, but a guarded avoidance of that submission which in eagerly soliciting and courting pacific arrangements adds to the insolence, encourages the obstinacy, and justifies the perseverance of the enemy in war, and in every case gives him the plea of dictating his conditions.

In this light we were apprehensive that the letter which your President wrote to Mr. David Anderson, pressing so anxiously upon him the immediate necessity of a Mahratta peace, would, if its contents became known to the enemy, most decidedly counteract the object of the representation. But it is needless to dwell upon the truth of a principle so incontestibly ascertained in all ages and countries, and which extends its operations even to the common transactions of life. In these it is known that an urgent desire in any person to obtain what another has to bestow at an optional price is the direct means of raising the conditions of that price. Even with our most civilized enemies we doubt much whether visible anxiety to conclude peace with them and a pathetic deprecation of their severity towards their prisoners would not induce them to raise the conditions and delay the conclusion of peace. Yet our civilized enemies know clearly that our means to continue the war, or our necessities to conclude peace, are the same, whether we seek peace with as seeming anxiety or affected indifference. Among the native powers of this country, to solicit peace is to acknowledge submission and to ask the conqueror to dictate his terms.

It was not to submit to terms thus dictated that this Government has agreed to give up our conquest in the Mahratta country; and has in the course of the last eighteen months supplied your Presidency and that of Bombay, to co-operate for your relief, with resources of war, supply, and provisions, and treasure to nearly the amount of three millions sterling.

But lest it should be alleged that in the general warmth of the preceding discussion we have avoided giving you a calm and explicit answer to all your requisitions, we shall now proceed to give you our opinion fully upon every case which you have stated to us.

With respect to the Rani of Mysore we do not think ourselves competent to judge of the propriety or expediency of such a treaty, the grounds of it not being sufficiently detailed, nor even the identity of the persons with whom it is proposed to make it sufficiently ascertained; but we conceive it to be a point which does not immediately press, and wish therefore to leave it to your consideration, aided by the advice of Sir Eyre Coote, without whose concurrence we hope you will not conclude any agreement with the Rani.

We find that through some mistake our sentiments upon your letter to Nizam Ally have not been communicated to you, though we believed they had been, and indeed our general opinion on the same subject was intimated to you in our letter of 12th December 1782. We wish at this time to avoid the discussion of a subject which might produce an unreasonable disagreement with the Nizam Ally, which is the more likely to happen from the effects of his disappointment in the fortunate conclusion of our treaty with the Peshwa against the wishes which he had formed to be made the principal instrument in accomplishing it, and upon the recent termination of his civil war with Yestesham Jung.

The claims of the Company to the possession of the Circar of Guntoor are not in the least weakened by their suspension, as we shall always have it in our power to oppose them to the heavy arrears of the peshkush due to Nizam Ally, and both will be better adjusted at some future period. We have therefore judged it advisable to retain your Right Hon'ble President's letter, conformable to your permission expressed in the purpose for which you thought it proper to transmit it to us.

As the Paymaster of the Bengal detachment was placed under the immediate orders of the Commander-in-Chief or of the officer in command of that corps, we cannot blame him for requiring his authority for furnishing you with the accounts which you required from him. We have taken it into our general consideration to reduce the superfluous expences of the army, and as you inform us that "although the Bengal troops serving on the Coast do not in number constitute more than one-fifth of the army, you understand the disbursements exceed one-half;" we shall pay particular attention to the charges and accounts of this detachment.

We are concerned to find by your repeated and pointed reference to the requisition made to us in your letter of the 30th June last for "our instructions on the event of disposition in the enemy towards a pacification, and on the propriety of knowing his determination relative to the Mahratta treaty to which he had the option of acceding." We conceived that we had returned a complete answer on this subject in the letter of the 19th October, in which we told you that "till Hyder Ally is compelled to solicit peace, or is disposed to move for an accommodation from some change in his affairs, we imagined that every advance to a negotiation with him was but an encouragement to him to persist in the war; that his object is the absolute reduction and possession of the Carnatic, and that should he by the aid of his new allies, and through our misfortunes, press you to a situation of *imminent necessity*, that necessity, and your own judgment must at once determine your last refuge, and dictate your instructions." In effect the treaty which we had concluded with the Peshwa left no room for any further negotiation except in the case which we stated of such imminent necessity as would leave you without resource for your preservation but that of a direct treaty with Hyder Ally Cawn. It was very much to be dreaded that a separate negociation between your Government and Hyder Ally conducted at the same time, in which we were treating with the Mahrattas, especially as our negotiation included the same object as yours might be productive of contradictions, and defeat the purposes of both. We, therefore, thought it proper to restrict your negotiations but not so absolutely as to preclude you from taking those measures which the last necessity might require for your own safety. As you seem to think that our expressions upon this point have not been sufficiently decisive, as the necessity implied in our former reservation cannot any longer exist without such reverse of fortune as appear most improbable, and as the treaty now finally concluded with the Peshwa not only includes Tippoo Saheb in the general peace, but binds the Peshwa himself to the obligation of enforcing it; we now inform you in the plainest terms that we not only do not see any ground or motive for entering into any separate or direct treaty with Tippoo Saheb, but we think that such an engagement might be construed, if not a breach of our treaty with the Peshwa, at least a virtual surrender of the condition of the 9th Article including Tippoo, which constitutes the Peshwa the principal in that article, and makes him immediately and solely responsible for the observance of it by Tippoo. This conclusion is yet more strongly enforced by the information which we have lately received both from Mr. Anderson and Mahadajee Scindia; that they were together concerting the proper measures for enforcing the terms of this article by the formal notification actually made of it to Tippoo Saheb by Mahadajee Scindia, a copy of which we have received and sent to you for your fuller information. It is no ill specimen of the mode in which it would become us to treat with such an enemy as Tippoo.

Letter from Fort St. George, 5th March 1783.

With respect to the instructions which you desire us to give concerning the future conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, we refer you to the resolution contained in our letter of the 16th instant for the fullest information of our sentiments and wishes upon this subject. We are not certain whether the following expression of your letter of the 5th March was intended to convey the sense implied in its construction, *viz.*, that the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, while in your Presidency, is subject to the directions of your Committee in like manner (as the Company's general instructions express) as he is under ours while in the Presidency of Bengal. We are very unwilling to understand this declaration as meant to preclude Sir Eyre Coote from the exercise of that unlimited

command of the army and conduct of its operations which we formerly advised and have since in more positive terms required you to allow him. It is far from our intention or wish to change or weaken the constitutional powers of your Government, but as the Court of Directors have given us a general and absolute discretion to take the lead (which is their expression in the 3rd paragraph of their orders of the 11th April 1781) in all the general operations of the war, and have commanded your implicit obedience to our orders, we have, in virtue of this authority, required from you in the exercise of your constitutional powers that forbearance of them in the conduct of all the operations of the war which is necessary to enable the Commander-in-Chief to exercise and apply them with effect, and how much soever you may conceive your authority and responsibility affected by this requisition, you will at least do us the justice not to charge it to any partial distrust of your measures since we only enjoin the same conduct to you of which we ourselves have already set you the example in instances of far greater extent than those which it will be in your power to apply it. A latitude given by our superior imposes an indispensable duty in cases which require the exercise of it. We think it therefore necessary to explain our general conduct upon the subject of this letter by the application of it to the common principle on which we must conclude that the orders of the Court of Directors, which we have last quoted, was founded, namely, that the conduct of a great political system, which involved all the interests of the Company throughout all India in one common concern, required that it should be formed and executed by one consistent train of operations in which it was absolutely necessary either that your Presidency or that of Bombay or ours should take the lead; and this preference having been accordingly assigned to us, what we herein prescribe appears to us to be strictly conformable to the intention of the Court of Directors as well as necessary to the general safety of the Company's interests.

Ere the arrival of this letter you will have received copies of the complaints of the Nabob Wallah Jah, and our proceedings upon them. We think it unnecessary, therefore, to say anything further upon the subject in this place.

We have the honor to be,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 24th March 1783.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 21 F. D.—25-5-89—600.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 7th May to 9th June 1783.

Secret Dept., Wednesday. Fort William, the 7th May 1783.

AT A COUNCIL (held at Mr. Stables' house), PRESENT:

The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*
EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.
JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.
JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 28th ultimo.

Read the following letters from COLONEL OWEN (Duplicate):—

SIR,—Feeling how anxious you must be for information relative to the arrival and state of health of Sir Eyre Coote, permit me to communicate to you the particulars of his late voyage, though the accounts I am able to give you of the General's health, are unfortunately for us all, such as impresses us with the most poignant grief, and will, I am sure, be to you a most trying recital.

Our outset began most prosperously, and we were at midnight on the 14th instant in latitude 12°40' distant from the land a degree, expecting next day to reach Madras, when at about a league under our lee we perceived four large ships' steering the same course we did. We put about and were more distant from them at the break of day, but found they were enemies—two line-of-battle and two frigates. The *Resolution's* best going was by the wind, close to it; we kept standing to the southward, appeared to go full as well as any of the chasers, nay gained on them considerably, when the wind increased. For the four following days, it being full moon, the night as clear as the day, the chase was most indefatigably pursued; fresh breezes were in the day, calms in the night; in the former we had, in spite of their number, the apparent heels of them, but in the calms the frigates by making use of their sweeps and tow-boats always regained their distance; during the whole chase the four ships were never nearer us than one league, nor further distant than five, till the last day, when we ran two of them out of sight, and the two best sailers, *La Fendant* and *Coventry*, heel down; this was about 15 leagues from Trincomalee, when at night on the 18th they gave it up, and I believe steered for their port.

We made immediately the shortest cut to this place, and arrived here this morning at dawn. That the *Resolution* should outstrip the four prime picked sailers of the French squadron, for such they were, is astonishing, and would have ended most advantageously for us, for we drew off the enemy's attention from the Europe fleet, just arriving, which they must otherwise have fallen in with, also with the Bengal ships steering for the Pesidency (of Madras) had not our chase and the consequences of it fell most severely on our valuable friend. On the third day, big with the fate of the service, wrapt up with his country cause, and feeling, I believe, his own consequence and the benefit the enemy would reap if they captured him, his family also on board and a thousand other points crowded on his shattered frame, the trial proved too great, and the General dropt on deck, struck with a paralytic stroke; from that day, he has been as ill as mortality is capable of enduring; however, thank God, we have got him on shore, better than could have been expected, and I have hopes that he may yet recover the use of his right side, and be otherwise in time reinstated. The faculty have today great hopes from his being sensible of pain and other happy symptoms.

To—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K. B., &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—We have the honour to congratulate you upon your arrival at this Presidency.

Having a just reliance on your bravery, experience, and reputation, we entertain no doubt, but that the army will, under your command, overcome in a short time the forces of the French, now on this coast, since the conquests of General Mathews have driven Tippoo Saib from the Carnatic, and deprived our European enemies of their chief assistance and resource, and since the demolition of Negapatam has left them no opportunity of seizing upon a regular post of defence along the coast. We trust that we shall have the pleasure soon of saying that Sir Eyre Coote has twice expelled the French from the Coast of Coromandel.

Until you can put yourself at the head of the troops, and upon your occasional visits to the Presidency, we wish that you will please to attend the meetings of the Select Committee of the Government, of which you shall have regular notice for your information ; and observation cannot fail to throw light upon the subjects of our discussion, and we are determined to pay the greatest attention to your recommendations and opinions, though we do not think it consistent with our duty to refrain from the exercise of our own judgement on those points which by the constitution of the Company are to rest upon our determinations. Our opinion on this subject will appear more fully to you by our answer to a letter from the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, mentioning the repetition of their recommendation of the 11th March 1782, and lest that the recommendation should lead you into any mistake as to the authority you possess, we think it necessary to declare to you that the whole executive power, civil and military, is lodged in the Governor and Council or Select Committee thereof, of which when here you are a member, and not in any individual thereof, and cannot be transferred otherwise than by an express Act of Parliament, or by an express order of the Company. Neither of which has ordered such a transfer, and that in pursuance of the Regulations of 1774, we hold you amenable to our orders, in like manner as you are amenable to the Presidency of Bengal when there; and we give you express notice that we shall hold it unwarrantable in you to do any act except in such matters of detail as the Regulations of 1774 and 1778 allow without our participation, or such others as time may not allow you to consult us about. We think it likewise necessary to inform you that as the Court of Directors has been pleased to order that the assignment made by His Highness the Nabob to our President on the part of the Company be rendered effectual, it is our express desire and direction to you that as far as may depend upon you in the course of your command you will support the aumildars, renters, or managers appointed by virtue of assignment, and actually employed in the management of the assigned countries or such others as shall be made to you by us, and that you will not in any manner authorize or allow, as far as your authority may extend, any interference whatever with such aumildars, renters, or managers under any pretence whatever.

The purpose of avoiding differences also to the disposal of the troops sent by His Majesty to the assistance of the India Company and paid from its treasury, we think it proper likewise to enclose to you a minute of our President of the 10th December last, and of which minute we have unanimously adopted the sentiments, and we trust that this early notice will prevent any attempt to dispose of His Majesty's troops otherwise than as we shall see most conducive to the welfare of the Company and of the State.

We have the honour to be

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

FORT ST. GEORGE,
The 24th April 1783.

MACARTNEY.
ANTH. SADLIER.
ALEX. DAVIDSON.

A true copy,

GEORGE TYLER,

Assistant Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The communication of what I am most cruelly necessitated to relate will fill you with extreme distress. Your good and great General, Sir Eyre Coote, is no more, worn down by severe illness, and fatigue both of body and mind, a very martyr to the public cause. He, this afternoon about five oclock, resigned his breath, thank God, seeming without pain; his last two days were remarkably placid and serene.

The shock our country's interests will sustain by this most severe of blows is too evident. I feel the powers of this subject so forcibly, and am at present so unequal to dwelling on it, that I entreat your indulgence for not being more particular in the recital. The army, the State, the British world, as well as his family and connexions, have suffered a most irreparable loss, but no one can be more materially or truly affected by it than,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your very devoted, obliged,

and obedient servant,

A. OWEN.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
The 27th April 1783.

Thinking it of the utmost consequences that your Hon'ble Supreme Board should be acquainted as early as possible with the above melancholy intelligence, I applied to Sir Edward Hughes for this despatch by sea. The funeral is to be tomorrow afternoon, and I shall on the following morning deliver over the Government here, the five lakhs of of rupees which came on the *Resolution*, consigned to Sir Eyre Coote.

A. O.

The first object of these dispatches, and that which forces itself almost exclusively on the attention of the Board is the irreparable loss which they have sustained by the death of the late Commander-in-Chief.

Agreed to order that sixty minute guns be fired in Fort William, and at every principal station of the army, in honour of his memory, that number corresponding the nearest with the apparent age of the late Commander-in-Chief.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 12th May 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 7th instant.

Resolved that the following letter be written to Fort St. George in reply to the letter recorded in last Consultation under date the 19th April.

On the 7th instant we had the honour to receive your letter of the 28th ultimo by the *Lizard*, and very soon after the post brought us yours of the 19th.

The cause which gave rise to the contents of the letter, the latter being now removed by the misfortune of Sir Eyre Coote's death, we think it unnecessary to renew the subject of it here.

You inform us that from the moment of his arrival he was too ill to have any personal application made to him, yet we are astonished to receive from Colonel Owen the copy of a letter which while at the point of death you thought it proper to address him, under date the 24th ultimo, concerning the restriction of his power in military affairs, and which without any occasion for it given by him is conceived in such terms of disrespect, and we may say insult, that had the gentlemen of his family who received it been so indiscreet as to have communicated it to him, if (as was not the case) he could have been made sensible of its contents, we are persuaded that it must have hastened his end, for to a person of his delicate and irritable feelings even in health such a production which no occasion demanded, and so was consequently unexpected, could not fail to provoke discussion, and which with whatever view it was written must have been prejudiced and perhaps fatal to the public service.

We shall make no further comments upon this letter, but we think the nature of it so extraordinary, and the delivery of it so ill timed, that we shall deem it incumbent on us to transmit it to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors by the next despatch and submit it to their justice.

We had no particular advices to transmit to you at the period of Sir Eyre Coote's departure, and such dispatches as he carried with him we find reached you earlier in duplicate by land. The instructions which he was furnished with for his guidance are now of course extinct as they applied to circumstances which no longer exist. They stand recorded upon our proceedings but we think it unnecessary to transmit you a copy of them, not knowing any purpose it could answer but perhaps to furnish new grounds for those discussions, which from the consistent tenor of your letters appear to be agreeable to you, although we must confess we find them wholly unprofitable to the public.

We have already given orders for the delivery of the treasure which was consigned to the late Sir Eyre Coote to your directions. We were induced by the special desire of the General to make the consignment of the treasure intended for the use of the army directly to him that he might be able at all times to command and dispose of it as the exigencies of the service conducted under his own eye should require it. We had also a further motive from finding that Sir Eyre Coote had been under the necessity of pledging his own private credit for the loan of one lakh of pagodas from the Admiral, at a time when the necessities of the troops were so great they they could not have marched to the relief of Vellore without this casual supply, and that although Sir Eyre Coote promised that it should be repaid out of the next remittance from us it remained still due at the time of his departure from Bengal.

As you have promised us that in a very few days we shall receive letters and enclosures from you on that subject of our orders respecting the assignment of the Carnatic, to which you beseech our most serious attention, we shall wait for the arrival of those letters before we proceed to enter into any further consideration of that business.

We are, with esteem,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 12th May 1783.

Read the following letter from Mr. Bristow:—

HON'BLE SIR,—In additon to what I have urged in my address of this date to this Board I hope I shall meet with your excuse for representing some further circumstances relative to the Begum.

I have experienced great embarrassment in treating with her, for as the mother of the Vizier the people look up to her with respect, and any harsh measure practised against women of her rank create discontent and affect our national character. Her conduct in withholding His Excellency's patrimony, and during the troubles at Benares, justly lost her that attention and regard to which she would have been otherwise entitled, still she is the mother of the prince of the country, and the religious prejudices of Musselmen prevail too strongly in their minds for them to forget her situation. Superior wisdom will

guide your measures, and I shall willingly execute every order I may receive, but I think it my duty, and a tribute I owe to the confidence you have placed in me, freely and candidly to offer my sentiments on such subjects as from a near view may present difficulties that would not occur to persons at a distance.

I would recommend every persuasive argument might be urged to the Begum to induce her to fulfil her engagements. I would even endeavour to convince her that it was intended to renew the restraints upon her, but I really think it not advisable to carry them into execution.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

HON'BLE SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN BRISTOW,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

LUCKNOW,
The 31st March 1783.

Translation of a letter from MR. BRISTOW to the Begum.

I have had the honour to receive your letters. Whereas the prosperity and welfare of the Vizier's affairs are the earnest wish of the Governor-General, I have in obedience to my instructions represented to His Excellency that I should conform to his pleasure in whatever he might think proper to direct. I am happy to convey his commands that Major Gilpin shall on the arrival of Auffrin Ally Cawn march from Fyzabad, and immediately release Bahar Ally Cawn and Joahur Ally Cawn. This measure affords me the greater pleasure as I am persuaded, from the kind expressions in your letters, of the regard you entertain for the Vizier being dearer to you than life, that you will in future consult and cherish his interests.

It is probable the Vizier would have continued the restraints upon Your Excellency if the Governor-General had not, out of respect for the ties which bind you, and from a natural benevolence of disposition given his assent. The strict alliance subsisting between the Governor-General and the Vizier will ever render an union of Councils and measure the line of conduct of both Governments, and it is a most pleasing circumstance to me to convey the Governor-General's approbation of the restoration of Your Excellency to the dignity and consequence to which your high rank and birth justly entitle you.

I beg leave to return my thanks for the sense you express of the becoming conduct of Major Gilpin in the execution of his duty.

Permit me to remind Your Excellency that there is still a balance of above five lakhs due on account of your engagements, and as you promised immediately on the enlargement of your eunuchs to pay that sum, I hope you will excuse my solicitations and assurances that by a compliance you will render a service both to the Vizier and the Company, whose affairs at present require the assistance of every pecuniary aid.

A true translation,

ROBERT GREGORY,

Assistant at the Vizier's Court.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 34 F. D.—15-8-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 12th to 30th June 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 12th June 1783.

Thursday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President,*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

The Proceedings of the 9th instant read and approved.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had yesterday the honor of informing you of the message I sent to the Nabob through the Minister respecting the jagheers, to which His Excellency this morning returned me a reply, purporting that if the measure proposed was intended to procure the payment of his balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiously effect that object by taking from his mother what she is very able to spare, and what he has an undoubted right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The present debt to the Company, as he with truth observes, is in great part handed down from his father, and the funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious were withheld from him by the Begum on the late Nabob's death; that according to the laws of the Koran, and the invariable custom of the country, he is justly entitled to the whole estate and treasures of his father, and could legally demand their being put in his possession, but that the sum he desired to take from his mother (about 60 lacks) bears no sort of proportion to the immense wealth which fell into her hands on the death of his father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her treasures exceed that sum. All, therefore, that he asks, is not to be interrupted in recovering a part of his hereditary right, by which he will be enabled to discharge immediately the whole of his debt to the Company.

This, my dear Sir, is a flattering proposition, and as to the point of right, admitting it to be less clear and defined than the Nabob chooses to consider it, you may possibly be of opinion that the conduct of the Begums on the late disturbances at Benares, as set forth in the several testimonies laid before you, has forfeited any claim they might originally have had to the protection and mediation of the Company; and further that it may not be politic, or yet perfectly safe, to trust them any longer with such powerful means of promoting an opposition to our interests.

For my own part I am so well persuaded of the disaffection of the Begums, particularly the present Nabob's mother, to our cause, and of their promptitude to unite in any measure to distress us, that I could very easily reconcile it to my conscience to assist the Nabob instead of obstructing him, in wresting from them every benefit they enjoy beyond a decent maintenance; however this is only my own opinion, and by no means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes to you himself on this subject, and you have his letter inclosed. Neither he nor I expect that you should give a formal sanction to the measure proposed. It will be sufficient that you but hint your opinion upon it, and enable me to inform His Excellency whether you would or would not oppose his design. Let me intreat you, therefore, my dear Sir, to favour me with a line by the return of the dawk, and if your sentiments should happen to accord with my

own, I doubt not but I should be able to congratulate you in a very short space of time upon the remittance of a handsome sum to the Presidency.

I am, most respectfully,

LUCKNOW, *The 2nd December 1781.* NATH. MIDDLETON.

P.S.—Whatever may be your resolution upon the subject of this letter it will be expedient to keep it secret. The resumption of the jagheers it is necessary to suspend until I have your sentiments on this letter.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General in Council, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—The Nabob Vizier having appointed an Aumil to take charge of the Begum's jagheers, she has, it appears, prepared a large body of troops with a supposed design to resist him. A violent and threatening letter which I have just received from the Begum would seem to leave no doubt of her intentions to support the already declared licentiousness of her servants in opposing the Nabob's orders. I have therefore been obliged to join my solicitation to the Vizier's for obtaining a regiment from Colonel Morgan to support the Aumil in the execution of His Excellency's commands, and I may add that unless my judgment, far misleads me, we shall be in want of still further aid before the measure of resuming the jagheers shall become fully established, and the country restored to that state of tranquillity and subordination which it enjoyed before the contagion spread by Chyet Sing's machinations.

I enclose a copy of my letter to Colonel Morgan, and have the honour to be with great respect,

LUCKNOW, *The 19th December 1781.* NATH. MIDDLETON, *Resident at the Court of the Vizier.*

To—MR. MIDDLETON.

SIR,—My mind has been for some days suspended between opposite impulses, one arising from the necessity of my return to Calcutta, the other from the apprehension of my presence being more necessary and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your answer to this shall decide my choice.

I have waited thus long in the hopes of hearing that some progress had been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September last. I do not find that any step towards it has been yet taken, though three months are elapsed, and little more than that period did appear to me requisite to have accomplished the most essential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardiness, and the opposition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance. I approve the Nabob's resolution to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treasure. In both services it must be your care to prevent an abuse of the power given to those that are employed in them. You yourself ought to be personally present. You must not allow any negociations or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their jagheers in the quiet possession of his Aumils, and their wealth in such charge as may secure it against private embezzlement. You will have a force more than sufficient to effect both purposes.

The reformation of his army and the new settlement of his revenues are also points of immediate concern and ought to be immediately concluded. Has anything been done to either?

I now demand, and require you most solemnly to answer me. Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions. If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and assured mind to the Presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your and the other means which you possess for performing these services, I will free you from the charge. I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them, and in that case I desire that you will immediately order bearers to

be stationed for myself and the other gentlemen between Lucknow and Allahabad, and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letter.

I am sorry that I am under the necessity of writing in this pressing manner. I trust implicitly to your integrity. I am certain of your attachment to myself, and I know that your capacity is equal to any service, but I must express my doubts of your firmness and activity, and above all of your recollection of my instructions and of their importance.

My conduct in the late arrangements will be arraigned with all the rancour of disappointed rapacity, and my reputation and influence will suffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree; since no part of them has yet taken place but the removal of your forces from the Douab and Rohilcund, and of the British officers and pensioners from the service of the Nabob, and the expenses of the former thrown without any compensation on the Company.

I expect a supply of money equal to the discharge of all the Nabob's arrears, and am much disappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it.

Give me an immediate answer to the question which I have herein proposed that I may lose no more time in fruitless inaction.

I am,

Sir, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

BENARES,
The 26th December 1781.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

The very great inconvenience, loss, and indignities to which the Vizier has long been subject from the authority and dominion assumed and exercised by the jaghirdars with the support of armed force, and the impossibility of striking out any medium by which these evils could effectually be remedied, have induced His Excellency to resume all the jagheer and mawfee lands throughout his country, promising to such persons as have just or equitable claims to his bounty, or those guaranteed by the Company for the amount of their jagheer, allowances in ready money equal to the net sum they shall appear to have annually realized from their jagheers.

This measure, the utility and I may add the absolute necessity whereof, will not be disputed by any one who has had an opportunity of observing the conduct of the jaghirdars in general, and particularly some whose incomes enabled them to maintain armies not only superior to those of the Aumils of the country, who should be properly a check upon them, but even sufficient to resist the force of the State itself, has met with violent opposition from the Bhow Begum, who falls particularly under the last description, and whose power is rendered the more pernicious and dangerous, first from its being wholly delegated to her servants, who have their own views of ambition and interest to answer, and in the next place from the reluctance with which the Ministers, and even the Nabob himself, interfere with any concerns of the Begum.

From these two circumstances, strengthened by the immense wealth in her possession, also intrusted to her two chief eunuchs Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, and her unreasonable expectations of support from the English Government, of all which she and her servants avail themselves to the utmost, she is become one of the most serious internal evils that among others seems to bid fair to give great disturbance to this country.

The great awe in which the Nabob, and of course every one under him, stands of her displeasure, leaves without bounds or restraint the effects of her uncommonly violent temper. Death and destruction is the least menace she denounces upon the most trifling opposition to her caprice. By her own

conduct, and that of all her agents and dependants during the Benares troubles, it may with truth and justice be affirmed she forfeited every claim she had to the protection of the English Government, as she evidently, and, it is confidently said, avowedly espoused the cause of Rajah Cheyt Sing, and united in the idea and plan of a general extirpation of their race and power in Hindostan.

Her agent at Taundar, who is the cheyla and adopted son of Bahr Ally Cawn, her principal Minister, treacherously turned his guns upon Lieutenant Gordon's detachment, and was by that gentleman's account the sole cause of the loss of it. She gave every encouragement in her power to the adherents of Cheyt Sing, by her agents assisted them in raising troops in the town of Fyzabad, promised and, as is generally believed, actually advanced money to the rebellious Rajas of the Vizier's country, raised troops to support them, and issued perwannahs for their operations against the forts garrisoned by the Nabob's troops under the command of British officers, all which is fully stated in the depositions made by Colonel Hannay and the gentlemen of his corps. Notwithstanding all these facts, upon the general resumption of the jagheers I made the rents of her lands payable to me under an engagement of making the account good to her by such instalments as she might direct, in return for which I have received letters from her containing the most gross abuse and the wildest threats that can be transcribed, copies of which I have the honour to enclose.

Her chief agent, Bahr Ally Cawn, has marched a considerable force into Nabobgunge, one of her jagheers, declaring that if any attempt is made to resume it he will lay the whole country of Goonda waste. These declared and repeated acts of rebellion are surely more than sufficient to forfeit all claim whatever to the interference in her behalf from our Government, and if some stop is not immediately put to it, it appears but too certain that she will light a flame throughout these provinces, which, if not difficult to extinguish, will at least put a heavy bar to the Company's collections here.

I cannot, therefore, avoid making these representations to you, or doubt you will approve of the Vizier's immediately taking those steps which may be necessary for effectually establishing his government and authority, and depriving the Begum of those great resources which she has shewn it would be extremely impolitic and unsafe to trust longer in her hands. On this subject the Nabob has communicated to me his sentiments in a long letter, copy whereof I have the honour to enclose you, in which you will observe he signifies his intention of prosecuting his legal claims upon her for the public treasure and effects belonging to his inheritance from his father, which she detains from him and squanders in such destructive purposes, while he is overwhelmed by public debts, principally incurred by his predecessor; and on account of his inability to discharge which the Company have indispensably been driven to take upon themselves the burthen of a large military establishment hitherto entertained for their service at the charge of the Nabob.

On this head I think it unnecessary to offer any remark since a reference to the established laws and customs of the country will sufficiently prove His Excellency's inherent right to claim the property of his predecessor.

I must also take the liberty to add my opinion that unless Fyzullah Cawn, remotely situated as he is out of reach of interruption in the centre of his own tribe and country, connected uninterruptedly with the other two remaining Patan powers, becomes included in this general reform of the jagheers or some effectual check imposed upon him, the whole may prove abortive, which if fully enforced may save this country and with it possibly much of our own blood and treasure.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

LUCKNOW,
The 27th December 1781.

From the Bhow Begum to the Resident.

The underwritten particulars have just come to my knowledge, that the Nabob's orders to Meer Mahboob Ally are arrived directing the resumption of Nabobgunge on the other side of the river, and Benegunge my jagheer and for him to take charge thereof, also that the charge of Pergunna Salone my jagheer is given to Meer Nazir Ally. Everything respecting myself is specified in your caulnama. Hitherto no interference has taken place by anyone. I am at a loss to account for the present measure. On what plea has the Nabob resumed my jagheer, or what are his intentions? While you are Resident can such proceedings be admitted? Express your disapprobation that it may not be carried into effect. Before application was made through Moulvie Fuzzle Azeem Cawn to me for Lowanah talook my jagheer, when I wrote Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn on the subject who silenced Moulvie Fuzzle Azeem Khan, but now the resumption of my jagheer is resolved on.

The jagheer is not the grant of the Nabob that he should resume it. Let those who granted resume it; the Nabob has nothing to do with me. Let me have a speedy answer. Countermand the order to Meer Nazir Ally for the resumption of my jagheer. The present state of matters is trifling but the consequences shall be great.

From the Resident to the Bhow Begum.

I have received your letter and recapitulated the contents. The Nabob has thought proper, on account of the inconveniences, loss, and indignities he sustains from the authority exercised by the jagheerdars throughout the country, to resume all the jagheers in his dominions, in which yours is necessarily included; but as the amount of your jagheer is confirmed to you by a written agreement between you and the Nabob, and guaranteed by Mr. Bristow in behalf of the Governor-General and Council, it will be made good to you in ready money. If you will, therefore, be pleased to transmit me an accurate account of the amount you realized from your several jagheers, gunges, bazars, &c., as specified in the caulnama, after deducting the expenses of collection, Sebundee, and all other charges, I will pledge myself that the said sum shall be regularly remitted to you at such stated times and in such proportions as you shall prescribe. As to anything further His Excellency is master.

From the Bhow Begum to Hussein Reza Cawn.

I find that Meer Nasir Ally has been vested with charge of Pergunna Salone, my jagheer, which to me is unaccountable. From whence proceeds His Excellency's interference with my jagheer; the jagheer is not from his grant that he should resume it. What his intentions may be I am at a loss to form an idea of. Note this, that if my jagheer falls the country shall not stand. Remember this, and make the Nabob acquainted with it. It is not well that for a trifling matter much trouble should be occasioned. Recall the Aumil to whom the charge of the jagheer of Salone has been given, if not, it will not be well done. Hitherto I have been silent and patient, but I cannot continue so longer. Whence this resolution for the resumption of my jagheer? Let me have your answer speedily.

From the Bhow Begum to the Resident.

The particulars I have written to you respecting my jagheers having arrived will be read by you. The Nabob has sent Aumils to take charge of them. The caulnama under your seal is in my possession, in which all interference with my jagheers is disclaimed, as well as all demands on me for money. Now the engagements of the Nabob are disregarded although the English are at hand.

I shall in ten days, the Mohurrum being over, proceed to Lucknow, where having fully explained and adjusted affairs, I shall repair wherever my will may direct. Your being at Lucknow will expedite the clearing and closing the affair. Let there be no interference with my jagheer previous to my arrival at Lucknow, neither vexatiously interfere with my people. I am repairing to Lucknow, wherefore this precipitation? You are guarantee for the Caulnama. Should the country be lost to me it shall be lost to all. I give you this intimation. Note it.

From the Bhow Begum to the Resident.

Having written to you particularly respecting my jagheers, you are acquainted therewith. Now the Nabob's order to Meer Mahboob Ally is arrived directing the resumption of my jagheers, Nabobgunge on the other side of the river, and Benegunge, and their amount collections to be paid into the treasury. Whence this measure? You are acquainted with the purport of the caulnama disclaiming all the interference with my jagheers, and by the blessing of God are at hand for my benefit, yet am I astonished with this proceeding. The jagheers were not granted by the Nabob that he should resume them. What has he resolved against me? The consequences shall be extremities. There has been a friendship of a long date subsisting between the English Government and me. I understand Aumils for other of my jagheers are in agitation. Interpose and put a stop to such proceeding. Application was made before by Moulvie Fuzzle Azeem Cawn for Lowanah talook, my jagheer, on which I wrote to Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn, who explained the matter to the Moulvie and caused the matter to be dropped.

Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn are my professed friends. The business I write to them on is effected. I am now convinced this trouble is caused by Moulvie Fuzzle Azeem Cawn, make known to him your displeasure at it that this affair may be relinquished forbidding him ever to enter on the subject of my jagheers to prevent any further interference of this kind therewith.

From the Resident to the Bhow Begum.

I had the honor to reply to your former letter yesterday, to the contents of which I must beg leave to refer you. As far as relates to securing you the actual income of your jagheers, gunges, bazars, &c., as set forth in the caulnama subsisting between you and His Excellency the Nabob, I certainly am bound in duty to interfere, because the faith of the Governor-General and Council, my masters, has been pledged to you for it, and I am ready, as I before informed you, to settle that point to your satisfaction, but as to continuing the lands, &c., in the form you have hitherto held them, His Excellency the Nabob is the master and I cannot oppose his pleasure. It behoves you to reflect well on this matter. I am equally the friend of you and your son the Nabob, and can have no prejudices in favour of one or the other. His Excellency declares, and I have seen myself, too many proofs to doubt it, that the authority and dominions exercised by the jagheerdars is extremely prejudicial to his revenue and government, a medium therefore being proposed by which you lose nothing and His Excellency gains so much. I should hope you would not continue to reject it since it is unquestionably the same to you whether you receive the income of your jagheer through the channel of an Aumil appointed under the Nabob's authority or from the hands of your own immediate agent. For the regular remittance of whatever net income you may heretofore have received from your jagheers, I willingly make myself responsible, but I again repeat that in all other respects the Nabob is master. What more shall I say?

From the Bhow Begum to the Resident.

I understand from Hussein Reza Cawn that he has spoken to you concerning my jagheers, and that you in reply should say that the Nabob's sending Aumils into my jagheers was not of any consequence or prejudice. If these

are your sentiments I cannot but be much astonished. Had any other person expressed such, I should not have felt it, but imputed them to his ignorance. Since I heard that you should have declared such as the above I have been in despair, as I cannot think the country any longer proper for my remaining in it, as those who bound themselves by engagements now disregard them. After the Mohurrum is past, I shall repair to Lucknow and take my leave of it to sojourn elsewhere as necessitated by the gentlemen at Lucknow, and as my inclination once led me, and is now God's decree, though should I be necessitated to quit the country God grant that no soul may be able to remain in it in peace. The power of existence rests not with you, but God. You are a ruler of the country and can take to yourself the jagheers of others. Many are involved in distress. Pride is not countenanced by God. How long is to be the period of your reign? Infamy is your due. The countries of Futtaghur, Oude, &c., yield four crore of rupees. If they are not sufficient to satisfy you, what can my jagheers contribute towards it, and why without my knowledge should Aumils be sent into them, if you mean to proceed in this mode send Aumils into Nudjif Cawn's country, &c., and try the consequences. While I do remain in the country recall the Aumils from my jagheers. Why so precipitate? Be assured I shall with expedition take my departure.

From the Resident to the Bhow Begum.

A person assuming your name has just arrived herewith a letter under your seal addressed to me, but as I cannot believe either from the subject-matter or the style that it can have been dictated by you, or written with your knowledge, I enclose a copy of it that you may detect the forgery and inflict a proper exemplary punishment on the person who shall have dared thus to abuse your confidence and insult me.

To—Nathaniel Middleton, Esq.

Sir,—I have been deceived I know not yet by whom.

The agreement which I concluded with the Vizier has yet served only to gratify revenge on some concealed interest, and to make me odious to my own countrymen.

The temporary brigade is withdrawn and its expence thrown on the Company without any equivalent.

The English officers and pensioners dismissed.

The English Resident withdrawn from Furruckabad to give place to a worse tyranny, and the Nabob afflicted and offended at my opposition to the latter.

The Nabob afflicted and desponding because I oppose his invading Fyzulla Cawn when he is confessedly unable to suppress the sedition of his own subjects.

The resumption of the jagheers withheld for three months now attempted against the Nabob's consent, although originally solicited by himself; a regiment of sepoys required for its execution which you declare to be insufficient, and when I ordered a competent force you countermand it because the Nabob *will not* approve it.

It was stipulated that a complete brigade should be stationed at Cawnpore for the protection of the Nabob's paternal dominions, but that if he wanted a further aid he should pay for it. He wants a further aid. I require that it shall be charged to his account. You tell me that though it is wanted you dare not let it come, and Mr. Johnson calls it ordering the temporary brigade to be again put on the Vizier's list.

I cannot wait your answer to my letter but have written a letter to the Nabob, which I desire you to present to him, and tell him that if he suspects

the motive of my interference, I will withdraw it altogether, both the Residency and the army, but he must first pay the balance of his debts to the Company. I will not hazard the Company's arms in scanty detachments for services to which they are declared to be unequal, nor will I break the strength of the brigade while the Mahrattas are yet on his borders and the peace with them imperfectly concluded.

I agreed to the Nabob's requisitions from a desire to relieve him from a state of distress, and to enable him to discharge his debt to the Company. You know these were my only objects. Have either of those been attained, or has any step been yet taken to attain them? If you say they have let me know what has been done or what attempted.

I must desire that your letters upon all official and public subjects may be official. I cannot receive any or avail myself of them as private, and my reputation and character have been too far committed to admit of an intercourse which I cannot use as authority.

You will be cautious that the Nabob does not misconceive my letter as bearing any expression of displeasure towards him. I think him too deceived. I wish him to regard me as his friend, and to confide both in my faith and attachment. I am willing to give him undoubted proofs of both. I will do nothing for the preservation of his interests against his will, but I will not hazard the safety and honor of our arms, nor sacrifice the Company's interest and rights to the caprice of his advisers.

I am, Sir,
Your humble servant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

BENARES,
The 1st January 1782.

To MR. MIDDLETON.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 30th December and shall reply to them fully. It has afforded some relief to the anxiety which I have felt. If you have not already declared to the Nabob the explanation which I desired you to give him of the sentiments expressed in my letter I desire you to defer it, till you hear further from me. In the meantime you may assure him that whatever is written in the agreement concluded between us at Chunar shall be literally and firmly observed on my part. I shall immediately compare it for that purpose with the measures now under consideration.

I am, Sir,
Your humble servant,
WARREN HASTINGS.

BENARES,
The 2nd January 1782.

To NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Esq.

SIR,—I have already acknowledged the receipt of your letter of the 30th and am determined by the assurances and promises made to me in it to return to Calcutta, and shall leave to you the charge and execution of the measures necessary to the execution of the agreement concluded between the Nabob Vizier and myself in September last.

Willing as I am to trust to your declarations, I cannot avoid yielding to the doubts suggested by the inconsistencies of your representations of their grounds. You in a former letter told me that the Nabob had required the assistance of a regiment of sepoys to enforce the resumption of the jagheers, but that it was

your opinion that a much larger force would be required for it, as a powerful opposition was prepared against it. I in consequence ordered a strong detachment to perform this service. You then wrote that the Nabob would not allow it, that you durst not communicate it to him, that you knew he would even oppose it by force, and that the payment of the detachment would be a breach of treaty, and now you write that the Nabob's Sebundy alone are equal to this service, and that it will be but a fortnight's work to accomplish it. These are absolute contradictions.

But I am most affected by your declaring that you did not understand it to have been my intention that the reformation of the Nabob's military establishment should take place this year, and that nothing has been done in the new settlement of the revenues for the same reason.

These are fresh instances of what I have had too frequent cause to complain of your total inattention to my instructions. The like inattention is manifested in a former letter, in which you tell me that you did not know that I expected a present supply to the Company's Treasury.

In my instructions, I premise as a matter well known to yourself, that the chief object of my negociations has been to induce and assist the Nabob to bring his Government and finances into such regularity as to prevent his alliance being a clog to the Company, and to enable him to discharge his debt to the Company in the shortest time possible.

It adds—"I shall expect that the whole of the excess (of the jagheers beyond the estimated amount) be appropriated to the discharge of the Nabob's debt to the Company."

The order in which the measures necessary to the execution of the agreement shall be taken is prescribed in the words—

"After settling the amount of the personal disbursements of the Nabob Vizier and his household, the next point that will require your exertions towards the general arrangements of the public charges is the reform of the established and Muttaiena troops, &c., &c."

The only point which is left for future adjustment is the establishment of the Courts of Justice.

The reformation of the Nabob's troops I considered as a point which neither required nor admitted delay; that his Muttaiena troops were almost wholly fictitious and his regular establishment scanty in numbers and in long arrears; and I considered and stated this reformation as one of the means of reducing the Nabob's expenses and enabling him to pay his debts to the Company.

I have clearly explained my intention to be that the first receipt of the current revenues should furnish the stipulated amount of the Nabob's private expences.

That his assignments for the Company's debt and other charges defrayed by them should remain as usual, and that the whole of the excesses of the jagheers should be appropriated to the same account. I require no more nor can I add either explanation or comment on the instructions which have been originally given to you, that can be more clearly expressed, or more fully than the words of the original text.

I have carefully perused the agreement itself and the former treaties existing with the Nabob Vizier, but can find no clause in any of them which either expressly or by implication gives him a right to employ the Company's forces, except those of the subsidiary brigade, without indemnifying the Company for their expenses. The brigade itself is expressly declared to be for the defence of his dominions, and therefore has always been stationed on the frontier nearest to invasion. It was never intended that its strength should be dissipated in little detachments, and its discipline ruined by employing it to suppress the insurrections of his rayats, and to enforce the payment of the collections, although a discretionary power has been given to you in cases of

great emergency to call for the aid of detachments from it for the former service, and you know that had our other exigencies permitted it, it was intended to remand the whole of Sir John Cumming's detachment to Bengal, and to leave no more than the subsidiary brigade and the regiment appointed for Lucknow in the Vizier's dominions. If the opposition proposed by the Begum is so formidable as you represented it when you first intimated it to me, your employment of the Nabob's Sibundy to suppress it would only serve to make it a serious and protracted war, which my order was intended to prevent, by suppressing all attempts instantaneously. I shall now revoke my orders, but I must positively forbid you to employ the aid of the regiment which has been required and sent, on any service to which you shall judge it not fully equal. This is no part of the agreement.

I meet with a captious expression in your letter, which, as it is not warranted by any in mine, I deem unbecoming.

Alluding to Sir John Cumming's detachment you desire my determination on the future payment of the troops, which I may still think necessary to keep up to regulate the Nabob's internal government.

It is not my intention, nor ever was, to keep up troops to regulate the Nabob's internal Government, but solely to defend his country against invaders, unless he should require occasional and temporary aid to restore internal peace and order to it, to enable him to acquit himself of his debt to the Company and thereby recover the whole and unparticipated regulation of his internal Government. If he conceives my design to be any other than this it is now your duty to undeceive him.

I now refer you back to the agreement concluded by me with the Nabob, and my instructions delivered to you in consequence of it. These are to be your sole guide, nor do I mean by anything which I have since written, whether in this or any former letter, to revoke or change a tittle of what is written in them. On these I ground the whole of your present responsibility, except what I have written concerning the additional claims made on the Begums, and which I consider a virtual part of my formal instructions.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

BENARES,
The 3rd January 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c.

SIR,—I was duly honored with your commands of the 12th and 22nd December last, the former respecting a seizure which had been made by Khoja Bahr Ally Cawn of some cloths manufactured at Jandu on account of Gopaul Dass and Bolanaut, merchants of Benares, under pretext of their being the property of Ram Lalla whom he had confined on a charge of debt, and the latter recommending Gopaul Dass in particular terms for his services to Government and the punctuality with which he has acquitted himself of all his engagements and transactions with it. To this, Sir, be assured I shall pay the most attentive regard, and always give his house that preference to which it has so just a claim in all remittances which may pass through my office.

Immediately on my arrival at Fyzabad I made a strict inquiry into the complaint of the above-mentioned seizure, and finding from a variety of evidence the fact precisely as it had been stated to you, I caused the cloths to be released and delivered over to the gomastah of Gopaul Dass and Bolanaut, who attended here for that purpose. It having also been intimated to me that Ram Lalla, a shroff and relation of Gopaul Dass, had been imprisoned by Bahr Ally Cawn on pretences equally vague and unjust, which I had reason to believe was the case from my having failed in my endeavours to procure his enlargement near a twelve-month ago, although solicited on an offer of the security of Gopaul Dass and my own, if desired, for the payment of whatever sum should appear due from him on an adjustment of their accounts, I determined

also to take this opportunity of inquiring into that matter, and procuring the man justice, for which purpose I applied to Bahr Ally Cawn to send him to me, and repeated the offer of security which I had before made. He however, thought proper to decline or rather evade compliance with my demand, and to testify his resentment at the application made for my interference, he instantly doubled the guard on his prisoner, dispatched a escort to bring his family from Jandu, and by every means in his power increased the rigour of his confinement. In this situation he remained until the day after the seizure of Bahr, and Jowar Ally Cawn when he was brought to me by my own people loaded with irons, which I had immediately taken off, and setting him at large have desired him to deliver me a statement of his account with Bahr Ally Cawn, which I shall take care to see equitably adjusted.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

FYZABAD,
The 15th January 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—The Begum having finally agreed to surrender to the Nabob the treasures of his late father the Nabob Shuja-ul-Dowlah which she had hitherto retained in her possession, His Excellency desired me to withdraw the troops from the killa that the Begum might return into it in order to deliver the treasure.

To this I consented, as also to the re-delivery to the Nabob of the two eunuchs Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn without whose presence and assistance nothing could be effected, as they were the only agents employed by the Begum in the secreting and depositing it, they previously pledging themselves to be present when called upon to answer to the accusation which I have informed them was laid against them. In the meanwhile the Begum has delivered over her cheyla Shumsheir Khan, who was phousdar of Junda when Captain Gordon arrived there.

So that I now hope the whole business upon which I came here is in the most favourable train.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

NATH. MILDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

FYZABAD,
The 20th January 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—I had the honor to address you under date the 25th instant, acquainting you of the Vizier's having from the treasures delivered up to him by the Bhow Begum commenced on the payment of his debt to the Hon'ble Company.

I have now the pleasure to inform you that I am this day in possession of a sum equal to the liquidation of his bond for the balance for 1187, and he further gives me hopes that he shall be able shortly to begin payment of the

twelve lacks due for the balance of 1188, of which I shall [illegible] give you information.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, &c., &c.,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

FYZABAD,
The 27th January 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—I have had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fyzabad business, as set forth in my address of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to assure you, Sir, it is with the greatest reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the express letter of your instructions, and cannot accuse myself of having done it on any occasion where it did not appear to my judgment that the objects and spirit of them rendered it advisable, and that the apparent necessity would justify such latitude.

In the present instance it was more in appearance and expression than in fact that any deviation was made from your orders of the 21th December, for although I was constrained, from my strict regard to the accomplishment of what I considered the first object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance for the reasons assigned in my address of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be considered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob, their jagheers were in the possession of his Aumils, their troops dispersed, and the killa of Fyzabad, which included also the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of His Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get possession of her wealth, and to effect this it was then and is still my firm and unalterable opinion that it was indispensably necessary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herself, and more especially upon those of her principal agents, through whose means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting access to the hidden treasures of the late Vizier. And when I acquaint you that by far the greatest part of the treasure which has been delivered to the Nabob was taken from the most secret recesses in the houses of the two eunuchs, whence of course it could not have been extracted without the adoption of those means which could induce the discovery, I shall hope for your approbation of what I did.

I must also observe that no further rigour than that which I exerted could have been used against females in this country, to whom there can be no access. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the zenana. The first was a son, who was to address a parent, and of course could use no language or action but that of earnest and reiterated solicitation; and the other was in all appearances a traitor to our cause. When force could be employed it was not spared. The troops of the Begum were driven away and dispersed, their guns taken, her fort and the outward walls of her house seized and occupied by our troops at the Nabob's requisition, and her chief agents imprisoned and put in irons. No further step was left, and in this situation they shall remain, and are to continue (excepting only a remission of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment, and if then you deem it proper, no possible means of offence being left in her hands, or those of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean with your sanction to restore her house and servants to her, and hope to be favored with your early reply as I expect that a few days will complete the final surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, &c.,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

LUCKNOW,
The 5th February 1782.

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

Sir,—I had the honour to address you yesterday, and this morning I was favoured with your commands of 27th ultimo.

You are already apprized by my address of yesterday and preceding letters of the promised issue of the business at Fyzabad, as well as of the state in which I left it, both which I hope will be satisfactory, as they seem to leave the matter in that state of suspense which you wish it to remain, until the Board or yourself should have been advised of the amount of the treasure recovered from the Begums and signified your further pleasure.

The Nabob has concluded no settlement whatever with the Begums, but left Fyzabad some hours before me without taking leave of them. Upon their agents having agreed to complete the fifty-five lakhs which appeared due to the Company, upon the closing of my accounts for the last year, and the Begum declaring that this was the extent of all their possession, including down to the table utensils which they have, and are still delivering, and no proofs has yet been obtained of their having more.

I shall, as you direct, use my influence to dissuade His Excellency from concluding any settlement until I have your further commands.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Nath. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
The 6th February 1782.

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

Sir,—I had the honour to address you under the 6th instant, informing you of the state in which I had left the business at Fyzabad, and the hopes I entertained of a speedy completion of it. Permit me now to acquaint you that the remaining balance engaged to be made good by the two eunuchs Bahr and Jowar Ally Cawn, I have this day had advice of the receipt of between five and six lakhs, which is now on the way to Lucknow, and the residue I have every reason to believe will be realized before this letter reaches your hands, so that I have now to repeat my request that I may as soon as possible be honoured with your final commands respecting the conduct it is your wish should be pursued with the Begum and her eunuchs.

The services of Major Naylor's regiment being required to the eastward of the River Gogra, as well to support the authority of the Nabob's government in that quarter as to be ready to join in the plan of operations which may be determined on in obedience to your commands, against Futty Saw, I have sent one battalion of Major Gilpin's regiment to relieve Major Naylor at Fyzabad, which I hope you will approve.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the 8th Regiment, which I left to escort the treasure from Fyzabad, arrived this day and safely delivered its charge. Upon its arrival I immediately dispatched to Colonel Muir the sum requisite for the payment of the arrears due to his detachment. I am now forwarding to Colonels Morgan and Sir John Cummings the amount for which, I shall not lose a moment in remitting the residue to the Presidency.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Nath. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
The 8th February 1782.

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c., &c.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your commands of the 22nd ultimo through your Military Secretary, informing me of your instructions given to Mr. Charters for the seizure of Futty Saw, and your directions that I should apply to the Vizier to give the most positive injunctions to the Aumils and other officers of his Government to afford no shelter or retreat to this rebel, but in general to give every assistance they can to the detachment acting against him. I beg leave to acquaint you that in obedience to your commands I have applied for and obtained His Excellency's instructions, and have further written to Major Thomas Naylor, whose regiment is employed on service in the Goruckpore country, to co-operate with the detachment under the direction of Mr. Charters, and to use every means in his power to promote the success of the expedition.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Nath. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
The 10th February 1782.

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

Sir,—Inclosed I have the honor to forward you addresses from His Excellency the Vizier and his Ministers.

In justice to the latter it is incumbent upon me to inform you that during the progress of the business at Fyzabad I received from them the most willing and zealous support, and that to their exertions I consider myself greatly indebted for the complete success which attended that business, as well as for the fruits of it being solely applied to the liquidation of the Nabob's debt to the Hon'ble Company.

Under these circumstances, it would afford me great satisfaction, and I conceive tend to promote the public service, were they honored with some testimony of your approbation and favour, which would be particularly acceptable to them at this period, as their conduct in the transactions at Fyzabad, and in the resumption of the jagheers, has excited the inveterate resentment of the Begums, and many persons of the first consequence about the Court, whose interests have been affected by the latter measure, and created a far more powerful combination against them than they ever before had to oppose. In short, Sir, they are considered, not only by this party but by the Nabob himself, as the actual dependents of the English Government, which they certainly are, and it is by its declared and most obvious support alone that they can maintain the authority and influence which is indispensably necessary to enable them to discharge the trust reposed in them, either with credit to themselves or advantage to the public.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Nath. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,
The 11th February 1782.

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

Sir,—I have the honour herewith to transmit a letter addressed to you by the Nabob Vizier, informing you of his compliance with the only points that remained unfinished of his part of the late agreement made with you by having changed the mode of the receipt revenues now ordered to be all paid at the Huzzoor to the Ministers by whom all tuncawdars and muttaiena,* &c., are to be paid,

* Muttaiena, properly Mutâyyana (corruptly Mottanieh), H.—A station, a military or militia post, one of *Sibandi* or provincial troops. Wilson's "Glossary of Indian Terms."

the Nabob first paying himself the expences of his private purse, estimated at the medium receipt of the last three years.

I have, in confirmation of the above mentioned letter, received one from the Minister's informing me of the accomplishment of this reform, from which with the total resumption of all jagheers which is now perfectly completed, I have every reason to hope for the most beneficial result, and that every part of this Government will now be in a state of regularity and tranquillity scarcely ever before experienced. I also trust that you will now deem every wish expressed in your instructions to me fully performed.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

LUCKNOW,
The 11th February 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—I have just received intelligence which I think may be relied on of the death of the Nabob Nudjif Cawn. It is impossible to pronounce with certainty what may be the immediate consequences of this event. The ultimate ones I have no doubt will be the total subversion of that extensive Government acquired alone by his powerful influence and high military character, and by which rather than any effective force he has been able hitherto to maintain it. I do not know any one of his partizans whose talents, activity, or superior influence over the rest are likely to create an absolute and permanent authority; dissentions therefore among the principal officers of his army may be expected to ensue, and those rajahs and chiefs who have been deprived of their territorial possessions will scarcely omit so favourable an opportunity of attempting to retrieve them.

Abdulah Cawn, the late Minister, will probably be restored to office, and his object will naturally be the extinction of every shadow of Nudjif Cawn's power.

Upon the whole, however, I do not apprehend any consequences which can affect the Hon'ble Company's interests, or the security of the Nabob Vizier, unless Zabitta Cawn, who it appears has long entertained views of attempting the recovery of his former possessions in Rohilkhund, should be prevailed on to consider this favourable occasion to prosecute them. In such an event I should think it very probable he would be joined by Fyzulla Cawn, who, there is strong reason to believe, is by no means well affected to the Vizier's Government, and who has of late made such preparations, and such a disposition of his family and wealth, as evidently manifest either an intended or expected rupture.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

ROPPAMOW,
The 24th February 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—I had the honor to transmit you a few days ago intelligence I had received of the death of the Nabob Nudjif Cawn which from the authentic channel through which it came to me, I thought might be relied upon, but I have

since been informed the report was premature and late accounts from Delhi mention that the violence of the Nabob's disorder had so far abated as to give hopes of his recovery.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

NATH. MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

JOUNPORE,
The 28th February 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—Upon the spirit of your former orders relative to the appointment of a detachment under Sir John Cumming for the support and protection of the Vizier's internal Government, and your subsequent letters declaratory of your sense of the footing on which the subsidiary brigade must be understood to remain with His Excellency, I have had repeated conversations with the Minister endeavouring to shew the impropriety of making detachments from the frontier brigade, originally intended solely for the defence of the Nabob's dominions against a foreign enemy, for the assistance of the Aumils or other ordinary services of the collections, and to convince them of the impossibility of continuing that practice now that the whole effective force of the country was reduced to one brigade without preventing this obvious design of its establishment, and thereby risking consequences to the Hon'ble Company's arms and His Excellency's Government, which it equally behoved them and myself to avoid, as from the frequent calls for such aid, the nature of the service, and the very remote distance to which the troops were occasionally sent, neither the necessary attention to their discipline could be paid, nor their rejunction effected upon any emergency which might call for the immediate exertion of the whole force of the brigade.

Having succeeded in the impression which I wished to make on the Ministers, and the reduction which has been made in the Nabob's Muttaiena troops, strengthening the grounds I had agreed upon, I availed myself of this opportunity to propose an establishment of the Hon'ble Company's troops which should at once obviate the necessity of applying to the subsidiary brigade for assistance, and enable the Nabob to make still further reductions in his Muttaiena and Sebundy establishment.

Three regiments with their guns and complete artillery establishments I am of opinion would answer this purpose, and the Ministers are now so strongly convinced of the utility of it that they have authorized me to submit the measure to your consideration, with an assurance that they will cheerfully co-operate with me in carrying it into immediate execution should it meet with your approbation.

To leave as little as possible for future discussion, and that no dispute might arise about the payment of this establishment, I proposed a subsidy of 25,000 rupees per mensem for each regiment, or 75,000 for the whole, which terms will be agreed to, and I hope be deemed satisfactory by you as they will be fully adequate to every possible expense of the establishment without staff or commanding officer, which I presume you will not consider necessary, as the regiment must of course always be stationed and employed separately to make them answer the purpose for which they are intended.

I lose not a moment, Sir, in communicating this proposed arrangement to you in its present stage, that I may immediately receive your sentiments and commands upon it, and I am happy in the opportunity which it at the same time affords me of evincing to you the attention which has been paid to your orders respecting the reduction of the Nabob's Muttaiena, as well as the instant beneficial effect of them, since the expence of the establishment I now propose

is to be defrayed from that fund without the smallest additional charge to the Nabob's Government.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

NATH. MIDDLETON,
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

LUCKNOW,
The 10th March 1782.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—In further explanation of the plan which I submitted to you yesterday I now beg leave to enclose a draft of a G. O. which is drawn up conformably to the sentiments and wishes of the Ministers and calculated to obviate an evil they seem most to apprehend, which is accumulating charges upon the Nabob over and above the amount stipulated for the three regiments.

The 8th, 20th, and 23rd Regiments are now upon service in these provinces, and of course will by far be the easiest to leave here upon the new plan, which, exclusive of saving the time and expence of marching fresh troops, will at once, by shewing how they are to be employed, preclude the danger so much dreaded here of having any commanding officers or staff appointed to these regiments. They most probably never can be employed together, as the present dispersed position of them evinces.

The staff expense and inconveniences of control in the disposition of these regiments were what the Ministers seemed most fearful of, and probably constituted the greatest objection they had originally to the plan. I have taken upon me to assure them their wishes on this head, as they appeared to me not unreasonable, would be attended to, and I shall be happy to find this assurance confirmed by you.

I have been guided by the terms of your last agreement with the Nabob in proposing the period of relieving these regiments, but as the nature of the service on which they are employed may not always admit of a strict attention to this rule, I could wish to have the discretionary power of dispensing with it when it shall appear necessary.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

NATH. MIDDLETON,
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

LUCKNOW,
The 11th March 1782.

G. O. The Nabob Vizier having stipulated to pay a fixed and limited sum for the use of three regiments which His Excellency has applied for towards the support of his Aumils and collections, this is to direct that no officer going upon such service shall under any pretence whatever claim or receive from the Nabob or his agents any sum of money whatever either for himself or any contingent expense he may incur, but shall transmit any claim he may have, through the usual and established channels, to the Paymasters and Commissary-General, as the payment made by the Nabob includes an amount equal to all charges to which such service is liable.

The first regiments, appointed for the service are the 8th, 20th, and 23rd, which are to be relieved in like manner with the Lucknow Regiment every three months upon the application of the Resident, who alone can determine whether the service they may be engaged upon can permit it.

To—The HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Governor-General, &c., &c., &c.

SIR,—I have received the honour of your commands under date the 27th February.

I had carried the original treaty down with me in obedience to your orders of the 19th December, but having determined upon receipt of your first above-

mentioned letter to return immediately to my station, I have brought it back with me, and shall now forward it by the first safe conveyance. In obedience to the explanation you require of the general assertion that the objects of the late treaty have been fulfilled, I now proceed to recapitulate unitedly what I have hitherto, in detached letters taken the liberty of submitting to you, and for regularity I shall take up the paragraphs of your instructions accompanying the Chunar Treaty in the order they stand.

Paragraph 1st requires the execution of the several articles of the treaty, being five in number. The first has been fully effected by the complete payment of all arrears, and the march of the temporary and Cavalry brigade into the provinces.

Nothing remains but the return or adjustment of the value of the stores furnished by the Nabob when the temporary brigade was first established, of which only nine pieces of field artillery have yet been returned by Colonel Morgan.

[The inclosed is a letter from the Nabob upon the subject :—]

Mr. Wombwell's office has been fully paid off and discharged and all the arms and stores of different corps delivered to the Nabob, and assets for the payment of the extra regiment stationed at Lucknow included in the assignment for the current year.

The second article relates to the resumption of the jagheer lands. This has been fully effected. The three most considerable are now under my charge, the Bhow Begum's, Salar Jung's, and Letafut Ally Cawn's, a measure I was driven to enforce on account of the mode in which the first resumption of the jagheers was conducted, which by leaving the resumed lands in the farm of those who before held them on behalf of the jaghirdars little more than a shadow of the intended change was effected.

The third article, which includes the jagheer of Fyzulla Cawn among the rest, has hitherto been deferred by the postscript to your general instructions, which forbids it, until circumstances may render it more expedient and easy to be attempted than the present more material pursuits of Government make it appear. However I beg leave to repeat that a stipend or allowance in ready money to that Chief, in lieu of his jagheer lands, situated and peopled as they are by his own tribe in vicinity to three capital territories of the same class, would be far more conducive to the interests and security of this Government, and as such permit me to recommend it to your consideration.

The fourth article, as far as regard, this office, was fulfilled here.

The fifth and last article, being only a provision for a future eventual contingency, was liable to no exertion here.

The counterpart of the treaty, being the arrangements which the Nabob pledged himself to effect towards introducing economy into his finances, consisting chiefly in three points; the reduction and regulation of his Muttaiena troops, the separation of his private purse from the public funds, and placing the latter under the separate management of the Ministers. The first of these measures is in as great forwardness as it is possible, pay and muster-masters having been appointed to the whole, and the saving already made produced a fund equal to defray the established charge of three regiments as proposed in my address of the 10th instant. The other separating and limiting the privy purse was immediately effected upon my return here from Chunar, and with that the separate public funds placed under the Ministers.

I now proceed to the continuation of the paragraphs of your letter of instructions.

The second is only claiming my implicit obedience to what follows, to fulfil which has been and shall be my constant study.

The third paragraph is a recapitulation of the chief object of the Treaty being the shortest possible liquidation of the Nabob's debt to the Hon'ble Company. To this purpose I have secured assignments, which I deem adequate to the full discharge of all demands by the end of the present Fuslee year, which, considering the greatness of the aggregate amount, is, I apprehend, as soon as could have been expected.

The fourth paragraph is partly answered above. The reduction has chiefly been in the infantry so as to bring in our troops to supply the deficiency, upon which subject my proposal is before you. The corps under this denomination here are chiefly Nudjeebs and employed for the garrisons of the Aumils' forts, kutcherries, and thanahs.

The corps of Cavalry could not so easily be diminished or immediately re-formed. They consist mostly of Mogols entertained for the State and personal security of the Aumils, who they generally attend in person, and such is the refractory disposition of the people who have never yet been properly controlled that was not some immediate visible standing force with the Aumil at his command to enforce his orders, he would neither be respected nor obeyed, and consequently unable to fulfil the duties of his charge.

The Sebundy is a separate establishment from the two above-mentioned, being a charge of generally about 4 per cent. upon the collections of the different Aumils, for a duty executed by a set of peons, not military disciplined men, who are stationed upon the crops and fields all over the country for their protection. These from the nature and present state of this Government appear to me absolutely and indispensably necessary for the collections, and can neither be embodied nor formed into any regular fixed establishment, but the new year will afford an opportunity of reducing their numbers, and of bringing this part of the plan into greater perfection.

The fifth paragraph, regulating the mode of paying the Muttaiena, has been completely established, notwithstanding the complaints and obstructions brought against it by the Aumils, who are by it subjected to a check and control which they are not pleased with, and deprived of an ideal proportion of authority over their men by the interference of the pay and muster-masters.

To the sixth paragraph, which regards the Nabob's choice of officers, I have only to observe that no vacancies have occurred which can have afforded room for an exertion for its clause.

The seventh paragraph, regarding the choice of Aumils, can only come under execution at the commencement of the year when Aumils are named. The few instances of change which have accidentally occurred by the resumption of the jagheers have been conducted under the spirit of this order.

Upon the eighth paragraph I have written a strong letter to the Nabob recommending most earnestly to him to establish Courts of Justice throughout his dominions beginning by a Sudder-ul-Hukk at the capital, of the effect whereof I shall hereafter inform you. I have not urged an instant adoption of the plan, as it appears more mentioned as a point you wish to be brought about by degrees than expect to see immediately enforced, nor is the Government here yet sufficiently regulated to promise just now those beneficial consequences which are the objects of such an institution.

The ninth paragraph conveys a discretionary power eventually to be exercised on occasions for which hath not hitherto occurred.

The notice directed by the tenth paragraph has been publickly given to every person coming under its description, and who have signified their having received the order.

These complete your instructions, since which you have directed, as an additional article, that the Nabob should be supported in his claim upon the Bhow Begum for the inheritance of the late Vizier's public treasure. This has also been done, forty-five lacks have been recovered, and the Begums's chief agents are now under severe restraint for the remainder of what they engaged to produce.

Trusting that from this explanation you will be satisfied that I have done all that the time I have had, and the circumstances I have been under, would admit.

I remain, with profound respect,

NATHANIEL MIDDLETON,

Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

LUCKNOW,
The 25th March 1782.

TO—MR. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier.

SIR,—When His Highness the Vizier did me the honour of a visit at Chunar, he made me a request that we might have an interview once in every year for the purposes of discussing and adjusting the mutual concerns of the Company and myself, and of improving the harmony and confidence which subsisted between the two Governments. To this requisition I readily assented and greatly lament that the situation of affairs makes it impossible for me to effect a meeting at this time. The present important conjuncture demands the united and vigorous exertions of both Governments for their common safety and success, and in this situation, whilst the greatest cordiality is requisite, you inform me that His Highness is much dissatisfied on many points contained in our late agreement, and which he made at his own request. To remove his uneasiness on these subjects, and to give him entire satisfaction on others which may be the objects of his fears and suspicions, and to give a lasting cement and increase of strength and reciprocal advantage to our alliance would be impracticable by any other mode than verbal communication, explanations, and assurances, and as, for the reason above assigned, I cannot make these in person, I think it indispensable to delegate the trust to another. For these purposes I have deputed Major Palmer to attend His Highness and his Minister at Lucknow. Major Palmer, as you know, has been my Confidential Secretary for several years. I have disclosed to him without reserve my sentiments on every point of the relative connection between the Company and the Court of Oude, and I can rely upon him for a faithful explanation of them.

I have also instructed Major Palmer to give the most express assurances to the Ministers of my approbation of their conduct and determination to protect and support them so long as they preserve their attachments to this Government, and pursue the real interest of the Vizier.

Major Palmer has other public objects in charge, which he will personally communicate to you, and I earnestly require of you the strongest co-operation of your authority and influence towards his attaining them. I think his success almost certain if he meets with your cordial support and assistance. Whatever may be the event, a considerable share in producing it will be attributed to you, and affect you accordingly.

Such explanations as are intended solely for the satisfaction of the Nabob and coming from myself, I have directed Major Palmer to communicate separately to him, but in doing this to use every precaution to avoid any diminution of your authority or influence.

I have sent Major Davy as a confidential assistant to Major Palmer and in case any accident should happen to the latter to execute his commission.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 7th May 1782.

Fort William, the 23rd June 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, indisposed, on the River.

MR. STABLES absent.

The Proceedings of the 16th instant read and approved.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—I have delayed replying to your commands of the 3rd instant regarding the means taken to realise the balance due from the Begum, in hopes that I might transmit you favorable accounts of it. Before the recall of Major Gilpin she promised payment, and since that time she has uniformly professed an inability unless her jagheer be relinquished. In my address of the 1st December, I represented to your Hon'ble Board that every practicable coercive exertion had been used, and in support of my representations I submitted to your consideration the copy of Major Gilpin's letter to me upon the subject. The Begum complains that having no pension or jagheer she now subsists her family and herself with the greatest difficulty, and should the Vizier persist in withholding every allowance from her, she will be distressed for the necessaries of life.

The above is the substance of the Begum's reasons for her refusal, as they have been communicated to me both verbally and by letter. I am of opinion, however, from every information I can obtain that she has the means of satisfying the Hon'ble Company's demands, but seeing little prospect of a jagheer or pension she trusts to her hoards for support, and would suffer the severest restrains sooner than comply. Previous to my arrival her eunuchs were kept for many months in confinement, and led out to corporal punishment. Guards were also put upon her house to prevent the treasure from being carried away. These measures failed, and you have before you the opinions given by Major Gilpin, the officer who commanded the troops, that "all that force could do has been done." Mr. Middleton thought it very practicable to recover the money from the Begum by continuing the restraints, and though I differ from that gentleman in my sentiments, yet I think it my duty to transmit the extract of his letter to me upon the subject, that every information in my power may be presented for your decision. The articles mentioned by Mr. Middleton I received on taking charge of the office. They consisted of eight elephants and various sorts of goods valued by the Begum at three lakhs. For the goods the merchants of Lucknow offered me eighty-one thousand rupees. A great part were damaged owing to the long time they had been kept in the godowns at Fyzabad. I refused to sell them until I obtained the Begum's consent, which she granted me after a correspondence of three months, in the course of which I repeatedly solicited her to receive them back. They were in so bad a state that I was obliged to give the purchaser six months' credit. This bargain I even concluded with difficulty. There was no mode of disposing of the elephants except to the Nabob, who bought them at fifteen hundred rupees an elephant.

I have, in compliance with your orders, applied to His Excellency to call upon the Begum to pay the balance of the account without further delay, and inform her that no excuses can be admitted: she will certainly evade and probably refuse. If you ultimately determine on enforcing the payment I shall be under the necessity of applying to Colonel Morgan for military aid.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOHN BRISTOW,

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

LUCKNOW,
The 31st March 1782.

Extract of a letter from MR. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON *to* MR. JOHN BRISTOW, *Resident at the Vizier's Court, dated Lucknow, the 23rd October 1783.*

"I must beg leave to refer you to my correspondence with the Hon'ble the Governor-General for a full account of the origin and nature of my transactions with the Begums at Fyzabad; and the letters which have passed between me and the officers who have severally commanded there will show you the progress and present state of that business. The balance due from the Bhow Begum upon her agreement made in January last, after allowing her credit for the trifling articles lately sent her by Major Gilpin, will be about five lacks, which I apprehend may be realised if you deem it expedient to continue the restraints which have been imposed for that purpose. She had indeed given Major Gilpin the most satisfactory assurances of an immediate liquidation of this long depending account, in which, I believe, she was sincere, but probably from an expectation of a change of measures upon my removal she has lately retracted these assurances, and now declares her determination to make no further payments whatever, but upon the certainty of her jagheer being restored to her, which I could give her no hopes of, as the propriety of its resumption has been sanctified by the approbation of the Hon'ble the Governor-General, who further expressly enjoins me, in his instructions of the 27th January, to exert my influence with the Nabob to prevent the conclusion of any final settlement between him and the Begums, until I should be furnished with instructions from him or the Board on that head. Not having since the above date received any directions from the Board or the Governor-General relative to the Begums, I know not what may be their wishes in regard to them, but I thought it at all events my duty, conformable to the spirit of the orders I had received, to retain possession of the killa of Fyzabad and the persons of the Bhow Begum's two principal eunuchs until the sum she had stipulated to pay was fully liquidated, or the Hon'ble Board should notify their further pleasure.

A true copy,

J. NEAVE,

Assistant to the Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Translation of a writing given by MAJOR WILLIAM PALMER *to the Nabob* FYZULLA CAWN.

Whereas treaties of various articles having subsisted formerly between the late Vizier Shuja-ul-Dowla, and the present Vizier Asuph-ul-Dowla with the Nabob Fyzulla Cawn, one article contained in those treaties was that the Nabob Fyzulla Cawn should, whenever His Excellency sent his troops upon service, supply a force to join them of two or three thousand men. This has been the occasion of disputes and doubts between the parties. Therefore the Nabob Fyzulla Cawn has through me requested His Excellency the Vizier to remit that article by which he is bound to supply a force occasionally, instead of which he agrees to pay fifteen lacks of rupees in the following manner. Five lacks to be paid immediately, five lacks in the kharif and two lacks in the rubby of the year 1191 Fuslee and the remaining three lacks in the beginning of the kharif of the Fuslee year 1192. His Excellency the Vizier has also agreed upon these conditions to remit the obligation by that article in the former treaties from the date the 14th of Rabi-ul-Awal in the Hijri year 1197, the rest of the articles remaining in full force. I, who am deputed on the part of His Excellency the Vizier and the gentlemen of the Council, engage that the Nabob Vizier shall not expect a supply of troops, and should he demand it the gentlemen with him on the part of the gentlemen of the Council shall remonstrate against his demands, provided the Nawab Fyzulla Cawn complies with all the articles contained in the treaty between His Excellency and him, excepting that article by which he is to supply a force and that the Nabob Fyzulla Cawn do not encourage or protect the farmers of the Nabob's country in his own country. His Excellency the Vizier will on his part comply with the articles of the former treaty, and the officers of his Government will not protect or encourage any of Fyzulla Cawn's farmers in their districts. I agree to have the

treaty on the part of His Excellency the Vizier for disengaging the Nabob Fyzulla Cawn from the obligation of supplying a force and the paper of guarantee from the gentlemen of the Council wrote and sent to the Nabob Fyzulla Cawn. Dated the 16th Rawi-ul-Awal 1197 Hijri on 17th of the month of February 1783.

Agreed to in Council at Fort William, the 30th June 1783.

A true translation,

ROBERT GREGORY,

Assistant to the Resident at the Vizier's Court.

WARREN HASTINGS.

EDWARD WHELER.

JOHN MACPHERSON,

JOHN STABLES.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 35 F. D.—30-5-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 3rd July to 21st July 1783.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 3rd July 1783.

Thursday. At a Council, present:

Edward Wheler, Esq.

John MacPherson, Esq.

John Stables, Esq.

The Governor-General, *at Chinsurah.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 30th ultimo.

To—The Right Hon'ble G. Lord Macartney, K.B., President and Governor, and Select Committee, Fort St. George.

My Lord,—I most sincerely congratulate Your Lordship, &c., on the successful efforts of this brave army in carrying at one stroke the whole of the outposts and redoubts of the enemy, with 18 pieces of artillery mounted in them, their loss in Europeans killed and wounded, according to the Prisoners' Report, being 26 officers and 600 men. We have also lost many excellent officers and brave men. On the preceding day, I called as a council of war the two officers next in command to me, Major-General Bruce and Colonel Stuart. I acquainted them of the state of our affairs in general, the letter I had received from the Admiral representing the sickly condition of his men, and the state of the water, which might oblige him to return to Madras; also the approach of the French fleet, but above all the indefatigable industry visible in the vast works they were making on the high grounds and lines in communication with the post, commonly called Brychmyres, thus stretching along the next by which we must approach the place, and I requested General Bruce and Colonel Stuart freely to speak their minds. I had called the Chief Engineer and the commanding officers of the Bengal and Coast Artillery as deliberative, desiring to know in their different departments if they were in readiness in so far as regarded materials for closing the redoubts after we should get possession, and to form a sort of first parallels, and as to guns with the sufficient supply of stores for the enterprise. They agreed that everything was in readiness, and we were unanimously of opinion that there was not an hour to be lost in driving the French from all their outposts into Cuddalore or under the guns. I immediately presented the plan I meant to follow in effecting our purpose, a copy of which I have the honor of enclosing. It was in general most exactly followed, Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, in the precise moment agreed upon, got possession of the posts of the enemy in the Bandipollam hills, with their guns, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart, at the head of the Grenadiers, supported by Colonel Stuart, commanding the advanced pickets on the left, consisting of the remains of the 73rd regiment under Captain Lamont, and two battalions of sepoys made a movement to turn the enemy's right flank. In advancing they sustained such heavy fire, and the ground so difficult, that with great judgment Colonel Stuart covered his people until he could better reconnoitre, and some further disposition could be taken to approach the enemy from different quarters. Nearly about the same time he sent me a report of his situation, and I gave orders in consequence to the reserve under Colonel Gordon to make a movement in advance to their left, and to Major-General Bruce to march from the right in the direction of the redoubt, if the ground would admit of it. The General had very properly posted Lieutenant-Colonel Edmondson upon the sand hills near the sea to support the four brass 18-pounders, and prevent our being flanked on that side. Upon further information that the redoubt which principally annoyed the

Grenadiers was to be got at in the rear, orders were given for the Grenadiers, the reserve, and the right under General Bruce to close upon the enemy with their musquetry, leaving their guns under cover, and I desired the commanding officer of Artillery to fire three guns as a signal and to continue a heavy fire for five minutes on the enemy's redoubt in the front, opposite to Colonel Stuart and the Grenadiers, whilst the reserve under Colonel Gordon was moving on. Upon our fire ceasing the attack on all sides to begin. The reserve which consisted chiefly of the remains of His Majesty's 101st and of the detachment from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, with five companies of Captain Muirhead's battalion of sepoys, advanced in the best order imaginable under the heaviest fire of musquetry round and grape from the enemy that I ever beheld; the greater part had got within the enemy's entrenchments; many of our officers fell there. The detachment of His Majesty's Hanoverians under Lieutenant-Colonel Wagenham and Major Varenious behaved most remarkably well; the Major fell in the attempt. The company of Grenadiers of His Majesty's 101st and the officers of that corps and the officers and sepoys of the 20th Carnatic Battalion shewed the greatest spirit and steadiness, and if the other men of the 101st had seconded the efforts of their officers and their Grenadiers, there is not a doubt but the business would have been over at once; but they did not, and our people in that attack were for a certain time drove back and pursued to a considerable distance by the enemy. However, at that precise time when the French were in pursuit, our Grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart and Major Moore with Colonel Stuart and Captain Lamont, with the precious remains of the 73rd, entered the redoubt on the side where it was not entirely closed, and not only took possession of it, but pushed forward to a post called Bryekmyer's considerably in advance, and were for some time in possession of it with the guns, but obliged to quit upon fresh troops pouring in upon them. Our people kept hold of the first redoubt as commanding or enfilading everything in the front or to the right of it, and therefore a good point to go from in our approaches; it was ordered to be closed by the Chief Engineer as soon as possible. The havock done by our guns from the heights now appeared plain, and having thus secured by Colonel Kelly and his brigade the commanding points of the Bandipollam hills, giving an opening to the large tank that lays between them, and seeing from thence in reverse the whole bound-hedge of Cuddalore, and having secured a post for to approach from, of such importance as before mentioned, I thought it sufficient for the day, considering the number of our brave men that had fallen. The spirit of our people after so severe an action was so undaunted that I was urged to proceed further and to drive the whole of the enemy into the fort that evening although we must have had both heavy guns and musquetry to encounter with. But I declined it both for the above reason, and because, from my knowledge of the French, I was sure that after a night's reflection of what happened they would not try a second day out of the fort. It happened so, for they abandoned in the course of the night all their remaining outposts and drew off their guns, excepting three, which we brought into the redoubt. The enclosed return will shew to Your Lordship, &c., the guns we have taken from the enemy. Two of them are upon the hill and two in the redoubt, ready to open against their former masters. I shall in a separate letter, so soon as I know it with precision, acquaint you of the loss on our side. It is with infinite regret that I mention the loss of Captain Douglas, Deputy Adjutant-General, as an officer and a member of society, and the same of Lieutenant Peter Campbell, my first Aid-de-Camp. Major Varenious fell haranguing his men advancing to the redoubt. The Hon'ble Captain Lindsey, Commanding the Grenadiers of the 73rd, was wounded and taken prisoner, refusing to suffer his own people to remain behind with him. I have had no account of him since. In a word nothing I believe in history ever exceeded the heroism and coolness of this army in general, visible to every one, for it lasted from 4 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon. I think it my duty to give the earliest information to the Admiral. I sent him a letter of which the enclosed is a copy. I have received his answer, by which I think we may look for his steady support until the service is over, specially as we can now by the assistance of a battalion from Tanjore, at Porto Novo and Chillumbrum, give him every assistance, both in provisions and water, which he may need. I enclose to Your Lordship, &c., a letter wrote to Mr. Sulivan on that and other

subjects. The Admiral with the whole fleet is now at anchor near our rice ships, and by our last account Monsieur Suffren was seen by him to the southward with 15 ships of the line and two frigates. I have wrote to Major-General Bourgoyne to give orders (with the previous information to Government) that 200 Hanoverians, with all the recovered men and recruits belonging to His Majesty's troops now at or near the Presidency, be sent with the utmost dispatch to us by sea, and I beg leave to recommend to Your Lordship, &c., to order the same regarding the recruits and recovered men of the Company's Europeans. In a separate letter I shall give the reasons. Your Lordship, &c., will see from my letters enclosed to the Admiral what has been done relative to Chillumbrum, and my reasons for not losing a moment in taking possession of that important post. Lieutenant Brickmyre, who commands, acquaints me in two letters that he has found 34 pieces of cannon there, and that he is now busy in unspiking the few that were spiked. An infinite number of cannon and musquet balls has been found, and he has found the means to extinguish the fire which the enemy had set to the paddy and rice. He thinks he will be able to save 8,000 or 10,000 collums of paddy, and to discover a great deal more which is hid there and in the country. He is a very diligent painstaking man, speaks the language, and knows the manner of the country people, and I think him the properest man for the present to command there, Monsieur Suffren being actually now at anchor at the mouth of the Caloroon, but I know Brickmyre is not soon frightened. I have had no answer from the Worriore Pollum man, and yet there can be no excuse if we are not now well supplied with bullock and sheep because Chillumbrum secures the communication. I beg leave to recommend Major of Brigade Richardson to be Deputy Adjutant-General in the room of Captain Douglas, and Lieutenant Charles Smart to be my second Aid-de-Camp upon the establishment, in the room of Lieutenant P. Campbell. If there has been any omission on my part in not informing Your Lordship, &c., that Lord William Murray, who has the King's leave to serve as Captain in His Majesty's troops in the East Indies, and the same in regard to Lieutenant Thomson, Lieutenant and Quarter-Master with the Grenadiers, I say if through any want of form these officers or others who I do not recollect have not been reported by me to Your Lordship, &c., I trust they will not suffer on that account by being denied their allowance according to their ranks and station, these officers having acquainted me that the Paymaster declines paying them but by your orders.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord, &c.,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

JAMES STUART.

CAMP IN ADVANCE;
S. OF CUDDALORE.
The 15th June 1783.

The army lay upon their arms for 20 hours after the business of the 13th was over, and until I had the means to bring our camp further in advance, now that we had silenced the guns planted on the enemy's outposts. Our right is now within a mile of Cuddalore, but as I had the honor in a former letter to represent to Your Lordship, &c., having now so large a circuit of posts to occupy in front, added to our loss in action and sickness incident to fatigue, and having nearly a brigade to cover our rear and landing place, I repeat that unless the force under Colonel Fullarton does come near to co-operate and take off some part of the heavy duty that now falls to our share, this army will in a very short time be melted to nothing through sickness and other accidents. I have accounts of bullocks and sheep to a considerable number, but in very bad order, being arrived at Permacoil. However much we may need them, it is impossible for me to send an escort, and therefore you will be pleased to let Lieutenant Dows know that he must wait for the Light Dragoons and 12th Battalion to bring them forward. I need not repeat what I have said concerning our want of gram. In case my information is right that there is none now in these ships here, the horses must inevitably be ruined, if the quantity indented for has not been sent, and if 7,000 bags are now deficient of the indent.

I have mislaid my letter of the 14th to the Admiral. I can only find that of the 11th now sent, but I desire Sir Edward to forward to Your Lordship, &c., the other letter. The papers now enclosed are No. 1, letter to the Resident at Tanjore; No. 3, General disposition for the attack of the French lines on the 13th; No. 4, Return of ordnance taken.

J. S.

A true copy,

THOMAS KINGSCOTE,

Deputy Secretary.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 7th July 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWAD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

Extracts from the Diary of MR. D. ANDERSON, dated 12th June.

Bow Bucksey informed me that Scindia had letters from Poonah, from which he found, that although Ragonath Row had agreed with Keshoo Pundit to come here, and that he was only waiting for money for his use, and although some writings had passed between him and Scindia on the subject, he was now likely to take another resolution, as Harry Pundit, partly, as was supposssd, with the concurrence of Nanah, had pressed him strongly to come to Poonah, and offered to give his granddaughter in marriage to his (Ragonath Row's) son, and that as Ragonath Row's wife was strongly on the side of Harry Pundit it was apprehended that Ragonath Row would take that part, in which case Scindia said it would overset the plan concerted in our treaty and draw reflections on himself as he could not then be answerable for Ragonath Row's safety and honor which might be in danger. He therefore desired that I would write to Mr. Boddam to endeavour to persuade Ragonath Row to come along with Keshoo Pundit, and at any rate prevent him from going to Poonah.

I asked Bow Bucksey how Mr. Boddam could prevent him? He replied he might detain him at Surat. I observed that in such case, if the Peshwa should write to Mr. Boddam that the period of the treaty was expired, and he must not protect Ragonath Row any longer, and much less detain him against his will what then must Mr. Boddam do? Bow Bucksey replied that he must answer that he acts according to the plan concerted between Scindia and Mr. Anderson, and that he would write to them on the subject before he can receive an answer. I remarked that the Peshwa might reasonably say that there is another article in the treaty, by which Mr. Boddam must be regulated in preference to anything settled verbally, and that as he had proposed that Scindia and I should have a meeting in two or three days, I would in the mean time consider it, and then consult with Scindia about what ought to be done.

I had received intelligence some two days ago that Scindia had given a khelaut of rejoicing to Tippoo's vakeel on the happy news of the victory gained by his master over the English. I could scarcely believe this intelligence, but, as I knew it was circulated in all the newspapers, I thought it sufficiently probable to mention it to Bow Bucksey. Contrary to my expectations he acknowledged the truth of the main circumstance, the giving of the khelaut, but said that the occasion of it was only on the man's being appointed from the Deccan to officiate as a news-writer. I stated to the Bow the construction that would be put on this circumstance in the ideas of all the neighbouring powers, and the difficulty I should be under in mentioning it to my superiors. I added that

it was of so much consequence and had thrown me into so much perturbation of mind that I must from this day leave off all further business; that I desired he would mention what had passed betwixt us to Scindia, and consider what was now to be done to correct the effects of this imprudence, and that I should myself take a little time for calm reflection.

13th June.—In the evening Bow Bucksey came to me. He said that he had informed Scindia of what I had said yesterday; that this had thrown him into the greatest consternation; that he had at first resolved to come immediately to me to explain matters; that afterwards it was resolved Bow Bucksey should first come to me; and that having requested me to state to him openly every suspicion I might harbour of any kind he was to shew me some papers; and that then Scindia and I should have a meeting to remove effectually all my doubts, and to obviate as far as possible the evil consequences that might arise from the conduct of Tippoo's Vakeels in publishing to the world the circumstance of the khelaut, and ascribing it to an occasion very different from that which had really given rise to it.

I informed Bow Bucksey that I had shewn no doubts or suspicions on any other point; that indeed on receiving the first news of the capture of the *Ranger*, and the silence of the Peshwa, I could not help entertaining many doubts of the Peshwa's Ministers, and I had freely communicated them to him, but that it appeared, from my last letters from Bombay, that the Peshwa had written to that Government that he had given orders for the release of the *Ranger*, and that if this took place and the Peshwa sent people, as it was expected, to carry the treaty into execution, of course every doubt that I could have upon the subject immediately vanished. It was therefore needless for me to say anything further on that matter until I should receive further advices from Bombay. That with respect to Scindia himself I had not the smallest suspicion or complaint except what was inspired by the circumstances of the khelaut, and that this I wished to have cleared up before we discussed any other business, as it was already circulated to all the neighbouring courts, and would doubtless be transmitted through many channels to my superiors at Calcutta, in whose minds (unless some explanation was given by Scindia through me) it would be a strong refutation of all that I had for a long time been writing in praise of his friendship and sincerity.

Bow Bucksey then enlarged on Scindia's strong attachment towards the English, the satisfaction which he derived from the character he had acquired with our Government as well in this country, as in Europe, and the jealousy which his connection with the English had given rise to in the minds of some of the Ministers, he then produced to me the following original papers:—

No. 1. Translation of a letter to Mahijee Scindia from Gobind Ram and Sicca Ram, his Vakeels at Poonah, dated the 12th of Jummud-ul-Okhur, 1197 of the Hijirah.

No. 2. Translation of a letter from Nanah Phurnayese, dated the 9th Zummad-ul-Suany.

No. 3. Translation of a Mahratta letter from Nanah Phurnavese to Mada Row Scindia, dated the 12th of Zummad-ul-Suany.

It was, he said, in consequence of the first letter that Scindia had given some clothes to Tippoo's Vakeel. He had given them as a thing of course on his appointment, and without any reference whatever to the news of Tippoo's success. He observed that that news had not reached the Vakeel by any despatches from his principal, or from the superior Vakeel at Poonah. He remarked that if a khelaut had been given on the occasion of the news, it should have been given also to the old Vakeel, who had attended his camp for many years, and not been confined to the new one who came in the train of Nur Sing, and had now on his death succeeded in part of his charge. He remarked that since I had been in his camp news had been received of several victories gained by Hyder over the English, but he had never on any former occasion of that kind given a khelaut to his Vakeel; it would indeed be absurd if he did it now at a time when his whole thoughts were taken up in strengthening his connection withthe English. He observed that with respect to

Tippoo the situation of his own territories gave him very little reason either to fear his enmity or court his favour; it was only in prosecuting the plans of the English and the Peshwa that he could ever have anything to do with him. Bow Bucksey concluded with telling me that he had now laid matters before me, and Scindia would come himself tomorrow in order effectually to remove all my doubts, and would give me any assurances, either verbal or in writing, that I chose.

Bow Bucksey had now said everything that was to be said, and he expected my reply. I approved of the judicious conduct which Scindia and Bow Bucksey had adopted in their candidly imparting everything to me. I assured him that I entertained no doubts whatever of Scindia, with whose conduct I had always been perfectly satisfied; that on the circumstances which had given rise to this discussion he had given me the fullest satisfaction, and I should not fail to represent everything to my superiors in a proper light; that I was sorry to put Scindia to the trouble of visiting me; that with respect to myself it was wholly unnecessary, as nothing remained to be cleared up, but that I should with pleasure accept of the honor he intended me, as an external demonstration of his attachment to the English would be the most effectual means of counteracting all the idle reports of this kind which had been circulated to the different Courts of Hindostan in consequence of his giving cloths to Tippoo's Vakeel.

15th June.—Scindia paid me a visit. After he had conversed some time in public, he retired with three or four of his confidential officers to a separate tent, where we held a long conference. He seemed extremely anxious to obliterate the impressions which I might have received from his having given cloths to Tippoo's Vakeel. He repeated all that Bow Bucksey had before said on the occasion, and he added that after having engaged so deeply in the interests of the English, it would be absurd in him to court the friendship of their opponent. He exputiated on the warmth of his attachment to the English, and to the Governor-General in particular, for whom he entertained so strong and unalterable a regard that if it were even possible, he said, that ever the Company should abolish the present connection, his sentiments of friendship for the Governor-General would remain invariably the same. He remarked how little he was subject to be influenced by temporary misfortunes to which in the course of war all were liable; that whilst Colonel Camac was acting against him he had received the news of different advantages gained by Hyder over the English, to which he had paid little regard; that if such was the case at a time when he was engaged in hostilities against us, it was not likely that he would pay much regard to news of this kind now when he was connected with us by the closest ties of friendship. He remarked that the Peshwa was an infant, and that although he himself was entrusted with the charge of his interests with respect to the English, yet I must well know the disposition of some of the persons who had acquired an influence in the direction of his affairs. He hinted that he trusted to our support to enable him at some future period to set matters to rights, and he inferred that as he looked to us for support in his domestic concerns it would be absurd in him to forfeit our favour by any foreign connections. He paid me some compliments and observed he was sure that a friendship that was established in our hearts would never be affected, at whatever distance I might be, by any misrepresentations of external circumstances. He expressed himself pleased at my communicating my doubts on the present occasion to Bow Bucksey, and wished that if I had any others I would freely state them. In my reply I assured Scindia of the thorough conviction which I had of his friendship, and of the reliance which the English placed on it in respect to the circumstance which had given him so much trouble at present. I remarked that I had laid it down as a rule to communicate with Bow Bucksey without reserve every idea that occurred to my mind, and everything that I heard, however loose or ill-founded; that I had adopted this rule because in the situation in which I was placed it was particularly incumbent on me to guard against the effect of misrepresentations, and he must be sensible that there were not wanting many who were ready to lay hold of everything on which they could place an unfavourable construction; that the explanations he had given me were fully

satisfactory, and that I had no doubts whatever remaining in my mind. I assured him that I could with confidence declare that the favorable sentiments which he entertained towards our Government could not exceed those which our Government entertained towards him; that the Governor-General, whose letters were written with the frankness of private friendship, in every one of them expressed his sentiments of Scindia in a style of uncommon warmth; that I had then in my hand one which I had that moment received, in which, speaking of the affair of the *Ranger*, he seemed to entertain neither doubt nor apprehension, as Scindia, he said, was concerned as the guarantee in procuring redress, and that in every point he placed his reliance on him.

Scindia seemed not to have the smallest doubt regarding the *Ranger*. He assured me that Nanah had sent down a Pundit to make enquiry into the cause of that affair. In addition to the circumstances mentioned before, he said that it was alleged the Mahratta fleet had been out on a piratical cruise for some time, and could not possibly be informed of the final conclusion of the peace.

With regard to Tippoo he said that his people had declared that their master was willing in all things to be regulated by him, but that he expected a more direct and express answer through Ramjee Patele, whom he had for that purpose sent to Poonah. A dispute had arisen betwext him and the French. Tippoo wanted to restrict the French from all correspondence with the other country powers, but they had answered that they were his allies, not his servants, and would correspond with whomsoever they pleased. Bow Bucksey afterwards informed me that partly on account of these disputes Tippoo had laid aside his intention of returning to the Carnatic, and would canton during the rains in his own country. I took an opportunity of mentioning to Scindia the news which I had yesterday received of a peace with France and Spain. This led to a long conversation, in which it seemed to be agreed by all that a general peace in Hindostan, as well as in Europe, was now very near.

At Scindia's desire I produced the ratified copy of the additional treaty. He expressed his satisfaction at the concurrence of our Government with his wishes in this matter, as well as on the renunciation of the rights which we held in consequence of treaties with Ragonath Row.

After a long conference in which each seemed more than usually desirous of showing their mutual regard, Scindia took his leave, and we parted to all appearance more than ever satisfied with each other.

D. ANDERSON.

Translation of a letter to MAHAJEE SINDIA from GOBIN RAM, and SICCA RAM, his Vakeels at Poonah, dated the 12th Jummad-ul-Akher 1197 of the Hijirah.

From the receipt of your letter we have understood the circumstances you have communicated to us, and we have delivered the letters addressed to Nana Furnavees. Accordingly Nanah having sent for Noor Cawn, the Vakeel of Hyder Naick, and held a conversation with him, he wrote a letter to Tippoo, which he consigned to the said Vakeel, and also caused him to write a letter from himself to Tippoo Sahib: this matter you will understand from Nanah's own writing. In the lifetime of Hyder Cawn the above mentioned Noor Cawn dispatched Nur Singh Row to your presence to transact business. There was a pundit in the capacity of a news-writer along with him, who at present attends upon you. With regard to this pundit, Noor Cawn has informed us that after the death of Nur Singh he sent him a power to transact business that he might send intelligence from thence, and he has desired us to represent this circumstance to you. We therefore request that you will give him favourable assurances, and for his encouragement give him a few pieces of cloth, for his writings are credited by Noor Cawn who has written to Tippoo Sahib. Until an answer arrives it is necessary you should keep the said pundit with encouragement and favourable assurances, also furnish the family of the deceased Nur Sing with a passport and send them to the Dekkan.

No. 2.—Translation of a letter from NANAH PHURNAVEES, written the 9th Jummad-ul-Saany.

You wrote "that Mr. Anderson had given you a letter for the restitution of the Peshwa's forts and territories, and had written to the gentlemen at Bombay and Surat to deliver them up; that he had also written regarding Ragonath Row, and that you had accordingly forwarded these letters to Surat by the hands of Kishoo Anunt. That it was advisable in the first place to receive possession of the territories, and that the business of Ragonath Row would become a subsequent matter, for it would not be proper to defer taking possession of the territories on account of Ragonath Row; that everything would be settled according to the periods stipulated; that I must therefore receive the letter for the delivery of the territories; and that you had on this subject fully expressed to Narroo Sher Dee, by whom they would be communicated to me."

All these particulars I have fully understood. It is very well. You will accordingly cause the letter for delivering up the forts and territories to be forwarded to me.

Translated from the diction of Bow Bucksey.

D. ANDERSON.

Translation of a Mahratta letter from NANAH PHURNAVEES to MADA ROW SCINDIA, dated the 12th of Jummad-ul-Saany.

I have received your letter in "which you mention that from the newspapers and other channels of intelligence, you have heard that Purseram Bhow and Annund Row Rastah, with 10,000 troops, are going to the assistance of Tippoo; and that they are actually getting ready for that purpose; that a friendship having been established betwixt the English Government and the Peshwa this intelligence has given you great astonishment; that such measures never must take place; that on the contrary orders must be issued for punishing Tippoo, and troops must be soon detached for that purpose.

My friend, since I have settled through you a treaty with the English, how is it possible that I should think of sending troops to the assistance of Tippoo? This is a thing that never can be, nor is it advisable. But letters have been written from Poonah to Tippoo, proposing to him a friendship with the Peshwa. If he should refuse to comply with the late treaty, the English and the Peshwa will unite together and carry on war against him. But the season of the rains is now near at hand, and we must wait for an answer to the letters which have been written to Tippoo. It is impossible to act with any effect against him during the rainy season. After the rains are over we must prepare for war; you are well informed of the distress which this Government is under for money. Our principal Chief is Holkar. I have written to Narroo Pundit about the means* to be taken in order to enable him to hold his troops in readiness. You also will exert yourself to the same purpose, so that the troops of Holkar joined with those of the Peshwa may be able to proceed on the intended war.

* Bow Bucksey informed me that this alludes to some plan which Nanah has pointed out to Scindia for prevailing on Alliah Bhye (who has the management of the finances of the Holkar family) to advance the sums which will be wanted by Tukojee.

Subjoined in Nanah's own handwriting:—

After I have sent you a treaty with the English, the news you have received of our sending troops to assist Tippoo gives me much astonishment. Why did you not first reflect on this matter in your own mind? It is very wonderful; how could I do such a thing? I have written the particulars of this matter to Narroo Shesdeo, by whom they will be fully represented to you.

Translated from the diction of Sudashee Mulkar
Bhow Bucksey.

D. ANDERSON.

Fort William, the 9th July 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.,

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.,

MR. MACPHERSON, *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of yesterday.

TO MR. JOHN BRISTOW.

SIR,—Conformably to the reference of the Board I recommend and enjoin your strictest attention to the following instructions:—

1st—The balance due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, partly from the negligence and inaccuracy with which the monthly accounts were drawn out, and partly from the inattention of the late Resident, had been suffered to accumulate to an amount exceeding that at which it stood at the close of the last year, notwithstanding the special care which I myself had taken in my agreement with the Nabob Vizier concluded on the 19th of September 1781 at Chunar, and my instructions delivered at the same time to the Resident, since inforced with very peremptory and repeated orders. This obliged me lately to write in very strong and unusual terms both to the Resident and to the Minister, and produced the effect of an immediate exertion and consequent discharge of a part of the balance, and assurances of the speedy payment of the remainder. I do not implicitly rely on these assurances, but conclude that on your arrival you will find either a large balance still outstanding of the last year's account, or that the whole has been paid off by encroachments on the current year's revenue. In either case your attention will be equally required to the statement of this year's assignment unless it shall have been already accomplished. You will be careful to guard against ficticious estimates, and if any such shall appear in the assignment already formed, you will of course insist upon their being changed for others or their jumma reduced to their real value, and others added to complete the sum of the year's demands, that is to say, the last year's arrears, the two subsidies of the current year, and the other sums for the payment of which our Government has or shall have made itself responsible, so that at the close of the year the whole shall be entirely and completely discharged.

2nd—You will observe a very considerable difference between Mr. Middleton's and the corrected account delivered to him by the Accountant-General, and now in the possession of your Accountant, Mr. Wombwell, a difference nearly equal to 30 lacks of rupees. To the former, though made up with false calculations, gross omissions, and even balances falsely transferred from one month's account to the other, Mr. Middleton has pertinaciously adhered, affecting to call the difference a new claim upon the Nabob. I fear this may render it an unpleasant office to you to rectify his errors, as I have no doubt that the same declaration which he has made to this Government will have been made as a concession to the Nabob and his Minister, and of course your demand for the difference treated as unjust and formed on false pretences. But the real account is so clear, and the differences so self-apparent, that it will be impossible for the Minister to controvert or misunderstand them, however he may affect the latter.

3rd—Endeavour to obtain an early and minute information of the state of the Province of Oude especially, and the rest of the Nabob Vizier's dominions, and report the result of your enquiries to me under the following heads, *viz.*:—

1st—Their Government.

2nd—Their military defence and distribution of the Nabob's forces.

3rd—Revenue.

4th—Disposition and actual conduct of the zeminders, and the means taken for restoring and preserving the quiet of the country.

5th—The character and credit of the principal Aumils.

6th—Under this general head I must also refer to your enquiry, and desire you will inform me whether the sums lately levied, or affirmed to have been levied and brought to the Company's credit by Mr. Thomson, have been drawn from the revenue of the last year, or borrowed, and assignments given for the repayment on the revenues of that year, or exacted by anticipations of the current revenue, one of which cases I very much suspect, because they must have been received at a season in which the regular collections are always at a stand.

7th—Also by what mode and through what agents these collections were made.

4th—Immediately on your arrival sound the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable. Till within these three months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed without control both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that Government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be, in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared both to use the Nabob's name and even his seal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our Government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and interest; and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations, such as the resumption of the jagheers, and the seizure of his father's treasures which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum, his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar. On every occasion of this kind the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the Minister's pretensions. I must, therefore, have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that Government. Nor can I omit, while I express my reliance upon you for this purpose, to repeat the sentiments which I expressed in the verbal instructions which I gave you at your departure "that there can be no medium in the relation between the Resident and the Minister, but either the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the Minister or the Minister be at the absolute devotion of the Resident." Much as I am displeased at the conduct of the Minister, I impute it more to the sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himself, and if he will submit to hold his office on such conditions as I require I would certainly prefer him to any other man who could be nominated to his office because he possesses abilities and a knowledge of business; he exists by his dependance on the influence of our Government; and above all, because a change of administration in a Government so loose as that of Oude, where all the parts of it are held together by the exertion of actual power, and not by the springs of an established constitution, would be unavoidably productive of confusion and loss of revenue; therefore it may be advisable to try him by the mode of conciliation in your first conversation with him, at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him in the plainest terms the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismission and a scrutiny into his past conduct if he refuses it. In the first place, I will not receive from the Nabob as his, letters dictated by the spirit of opposition, but shall consider every such attempt as the Minister's, and as an insult on our Government. In the second place I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character but with your knowledge and participation. At the same time the first share of the responsibility will rest with you; the other conditions will follow distinctly in their places, because I consider you as responsible for them.

5th—No Administration can be properly conducted without regular officers. In that of Oude there is not one, the whole being ingrossed by the Minister. Two are indispensably necessary, first, an office of collections; secondly, an office of treasury. I insist upon the establishments being formed immediately, and it must be your care to appoint such checks to each, that whatever sums are

paid from the revenue shall be duly entered and credit given for their exact amount in the office of collections, and in like manner that no sums shall pass the treasury without a similar control. The heads of these offices must of course be under the general direction of the Minister in all points excepting their accounts, for the fidelity of which you must be solely responsible, and made liable to the severest punishments if they falsify them. What other offices may have been in use in the time of the Nabob Shuja-ud-Dowla, and at this time necessary, you will enquire, and either cause them to be re-established or not as it shall appear to be proper.

In this last description I include the adawluts. You will find them recommended, but conditionally, in my instructions to Mr. Middleton. It is certain that the want of them, and the universal and extreme licentiousness occasioned thereby, is one of the most disreputable defects of the Vizier's Government, yet I much doubt whether, introduced into such a state at once and abruptly, they would not add to the mischiefs which they were intended to redress, for perhaps there is scarce an individual who would not become immediately obnoxious to their authority, and I fear scarce an individual capable of discharging even a small portion of their decrees. While they do not exist every man knows the hazard which he incurs in lending his money. Their establishment might tend to deceive by holding out the appearance of false assurances; and with respect to oppressions of every species, unless each court was armed with a strong military force, it would not be in their power to prevent or punish them, neither on that case is it certain that they would not themselves prove the greatest instruments of oppression. The Aumils in the first instance, and the Munduls or chiefs of the villages ultimately, must supply this defect if it cannot be otherwise remedied. I merely intimate this subject to you as proper for your enquiry and consideration, but cannot give you any instructions concerning it.

6th—Great care must be taken in the choice of Aumils. I shall not descend to particulars, but enjoin one caution only as indispensably necessary, that no Aumil be appointed to a frontier station without such pledge or other security for compelling his personal appearance whenever required, as may insure beyond a doubt his obedience and fidelity, and both these and others wherever stationed ought to have the means of self-protection and to be trusted and supported.

8th—From the practice which the late Resident, his Deputy, and the Minister seem to have prescribed to themselves of withholding all official information from me, I have been under the necessity of forming my opinion of the state of the Nabob's Government upon private intelligence; but this from its variety, from its concurrence, notwithstanding the various channels through which it has passed, and above all from its notoriety, comes to me with all the weight which the highest authority could give it. For some facts I have the testimony of sworn evidence, such are the transactions of the rebel zemindars of Goorokpur and Broach in the insurrections of the last year, which had for their immediate object the destruction of Colonel Hannay and the officers of his command, and ultimately the extirpation of the English influence and power throughout the whole of the Nabob Vizier's dominions. The zemindars who distinguished themselves on this occasion were Zalam Sing, Ajeet Mull, Gunoo Roy, and Pirty Pall Sing. I am well informed that these men have persevered in their rebellious conduct without deviation to the present time. Though the Nabob's and not our Government is the object of it, represent to the Nabob and effectually the bad policy of suffering such examples to pass with impunity. Obtain his order for employing some sure means for apprehending these zemindars, and if it shall appear on a fair and regular enquiry that their conduct towards the Nabob (I pass over that which regards ourselves alone) has been such as it has been reported to be, he ought, and you must insist upon it, to punish them with death, and to treat with the same rigour every zemindar and every subject who shall be the leader in a rebellion against his authority. Severe as this injunction may appear at the first sight, it will be mercy in its effects, if the Nabob will adopt the policy, by insuring the tranquility of his country, and saving the blood of his people, for the resolution once published, and enforced in a single instance, will make it unnecessary to prosecute it to a second example.

10th—On the information of the defection of Almass Ali Cawn, of symptoms apparent of the like disposition in the Aumil of Rohilkhund, and of the general anarchy which prevailed in every other part of the Nabob's dominions, the Board, though officially unapprized of these as of every other subject requiring their knowledge of them, resolved and ordered that a strong detachment under Colonel Sir John Cummings should march into the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, both for its internal defence, and for the relief of the numerous detachments, which we understand, and this also from private information only, have been made by the sole authority of Mr. Johnson, covered by the Nabob's formal requisition from the army stationed at Cawnpoor. You will receive an order from the Board to notify to the commanding officer of every detachment that its services are no longer required, which notification it will rest with your discretion to make on the instant in which you shall see that it can be done with safety, and a corresponding order will be sent to Colonel Morgan to command the instant return of every detachment within four and twenty hours after the receipt of every such notification. Upon this subject I desire you to bear in mind that the army in Cawnpoor, or in whatever part of the frontier it may be stationed, is appointed for the external defence of the Nabob's dominions, and for that only; that this was its original destination intended by the Treaty of 1773, commonly known by the Treaty of Benares; and that every deviation from this object, and every diminution of its force, are impolitic, and highly dangerous to our own existence, by the encouragement which it will afford to foreign invasion. I understand that at this time there are only two regiments of sepoys left to support the small body of Europeans, to which the strength of that station is now reduced. Events may hereafter arise of so sudden and urgent an emergency as to require a temporary deviation from this maxim, but it will be with the greatest reluctance and dissatisfaction that the Board will ever hear of such a disposition, and therefore you must be careful that the exigency be such from its urgency and necessity as will clearly justify you in deviating from it, though by the call of a single regiment of that station to any part of the Nabob's internal dominions; and on every such occasion, you must be careful to comply with every formality enjoined by my instructions to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23rd of September, and to transmit instant advise of it to the Board not waiting for the detail of your reasons, which to prevent delays may follow as you shall have more leisure to forward them. I must make it my particular injunction that such a notification as I have mentioned above may be at all events instantly transmitted to the officer commanding the detachment sent to Furruckabad, if my information be true that such a measure has been assumed by Mr. Johnson.

14th—Study on every occasion to conciliate the good-will of the Nabob and shew him every ostensible and external mark of respect. I should hope that with due attention you would not find it difficult to make him himself the mover of every act necessary, whether for the advancement of his own interest, or the discharge of his debts to the Company; but this can never be effected while the Minister maintains that ascendant over him which he at present holds by the means of a nearer and more private intercourse, and by affecting to be the vindicator of his rights against the claims of our Government. In my late engagement with the Nabob it was stipulated that a certain sum should be set apart monthly for his private expenses, and this made a part of my private instructions to Mr. Middleton. The sum was afterwards fixed, as I recollect, at 30 lacks. It was my intention and direction that this appropriation should be made before any other, and this I make my present injunction to you, requiring also that you do make it a point of immediate and strict enquiry, whether the Nabob has hitherto received the whole and punctual payment of the sum assigned to this account, or any part of it has been withheld from him, whether with or without his concurrence. I mention this because from some private information which I have lately received I have reason to suspect that this is actually the case. Whatever foundation there may be for this report, let justice be done to the Nabob, and if he has been deceived undeceive him.

15th—The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he suffers in his authority by the usurpation of the Company's Resident,

and as repeatedly demanded that whenever the Company's balance shall be completely discharged, he may be freed from this vexation, that he may be permitted to pay the subsidy in ready money; and that the assignments which have been granted to satisfy that demand may be restored to him. I confess that I did myself give encouragement to this proposition, knowing at the same time the quarter from whence it came—I mean from Hyder Beg Cawn—and willing to exonerate this Government from the trouble and responsibility, and the Company from the disgrace of whatever might attend the administration of the Nabob's Government, I thought too that it presented a sure prospect of the regular payment of the current demands by the penalty which would attend the failure in the resumption of the former system of assignments, and in the personal claims which it would bring on the Minister. But his misconduct has since manifested itself in so many particular instances, besides the universal disorder of the country, and this is so alarming in its effects to our own Government that I shall hesitate, until I have the surest and most satisfactory grounds, to recommend an acquiescence in such a measure. At present the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at some distance, for, while I am writing these instructions, fresh circumstances occur to my knowledge which made me much suspect the real payment of the sums brought to Nabob's credit for the last year's balance. It may not, however, be amiss to talk with the Minister on the subject, to let him know that it was well understood to be a demand for substituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to invest him with the sovereignty of the Nabob's dominions, to ask him whether he shall in such case expect the Company's protection, and if he does by what claim of right; and whether, in the event of his involving our Government in a new scene of hostilities by those which his maladministration may produce, whether internally or by invasion, in that country, he shall think himself in justice exempt from the personal vengeance which we may be disposed to exact from him. At all events the proposition must be discouraged till a safer season for its acceptance, but the absolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob if he shall himself renew it.

16th—For the rest I refer you to my instructions to Mr. Middleton, to which in every point not revoked or qualified by these instructions I must require your most attentive and literal obedience.

17th—Discretionary power. I do justice to my sense of your character in declaring my entire reliance on your prudence and integrity, and to these I trust for your deviation from any part of these instructions at your discretion, in any instance, which shall appear to you necessary to require it, desiring however as a proper caution that as much as you can you will leave the subject free for my correction of it; and instantly inform me or the Board according to the degree of its importance that you have acted in such a manner with your reasons for it.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 23rd October 1782.

WARREN HASTINGS.

A true copy,

W. HILL,

Assistant to the Resident.

Letter of instructions from the Governor-General to the Resident at the Vizier's Court.

To MR. NATHANIEL MIDDLETON, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier

SIR,—Having on the 19th instant entered into certain engagements with the Nabob Vizier, tending to relieve his finances of a burthen they were no longer able to sustain, with sundry other clauses, the execution of which is entrusted to you, I herewith inclose an authentic copy of the same for your

guidance. The Nabob on his behalf has subscribed and sealed an agreement in our presence, and in the presence of Mr. Richard Johnson and Hyder Beg Cawn, respecting the better administration of his affairs, of which I also transmit you an authentic copy.

To these papers, and to the points consequently and necessarily dependent on them, I think it necessary to add the following instructions to which I require your most implicit obedience.

I need scarcely inform you that my chief object in my negotiations with the Nabob has been to induce and assist him to bring his Government and finance into such regularity as to prevent his alliance from being a clog instead of an aid to the Company, and to enable him to discharge his debt in the shortest time possible. To this end the most essential point is to limit and separate his personal disbursements from the public accounts. They must not in their annual amount exceed what he has received in any of the last three years. This amount in twelve equal parts should be paid him monthly out of the first receipts, and the remainder of the next collections placed separately in a public treasury, from whence his public, military, and civil establishment must be paid under the sole management and control of the Ministers with your concurrence. It is of course to be understood that this has no connection and is in no shape to interfere with the Company's assignment and the collections upon them, which are to be conducted as usual; and as by the addition of the jagheer lands with their revenues to the Nabob's regular collections his income will, or ought to be, consideradly increased, I shall expect that the whole of the excess be appropriated to the discharge of the Nabob's debt to the Company.

After settling the amount of the personal disbursments of the Nabob Vizier and his household, the next point that will require your exertion towards the general arrangement of the public charges, is to reform the established Mutaima troops, reducing them into one established corps for the whole service. If this corps should be brought to consist solely of cavalry, it would best answer mutual benefit, leaving no infantry in the Nabob's service but what may be necessary for his body-guard; and to supply the deficiency, should any occur from such arrangement, our infantry may be employed where infantry are wanted.

The corps re-formed and established, their pay must be issued from the public treasury. No assignments to be in future granted them, and those already issued to be recalled. To complete this all members above what the real service may require, or the actual net receipts may be adequate to the full payment of, must be disbanded as fast as their arrears can be paid off.

The Nabob will select and appoint his own commanders, but if he should nominate improper persons, such as men commonly known by the name of orderlies, or others deriving their influence from them, or of known disaffection to our Government, you are in such case to remonstrate against it, and if the Vizier shall persist in his choice, you are peremptorily and in my name to oppose it as a breach of his agreement.

For the management of his collections the Ministers with your concurrence are to choose all Aumils and collectors, and in their choice to be guided by the responsibility, good reputation, and known ability of the persons they elect, that changes may, as far as possible, be avoided.

Much is to be said, though little may now suit, upon the subject of the distribution of justice in the Nabob's dominions. To the present I limit myself to direct you to urge the Nabob to endeavour gradually, if it cannot be done at once, to establish courts of adawlut throughout his districts, the Darogahs, Mowlavies, and other officers of which must be selected, as in the case of the Aumils, by the Ministers with your concurrence. The want of these courts is equally hurtful to the revenue, government, and reputation of the Nabob.

In consequence of the disturbances which the rebellious example of Raja Cheyt Singh has caused in the Nabob Vizier's country, I have instructed Colonel Morgan to assist you on the requisition of the Vizier communicated by you to him, or at your own single application if any case of emergency should make

it needful, with such detachments as may be necessary, exclusive of the regiment of sepoys which is stipulated to remain with you at Lucknow. This power you are not to exercise, but in case of the most urgent and manifest necessity. It is directed that the regiment ordered for the immediate protection of your office and person at Lucknow shall be relieved at every three months, and during its stay there shall act solely and exclusively under your orders.

It is finally my positive order that you do not permit any British subject, or others claiming the name and protection of the Company, to reside at Lucknow or within any part of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, except the officers and soldiers of the army acting in their duty, and such persons as are officially appointed to remain there. And that to such as are now at Lucknow, or in any other part of his dominions not falling within the description of the above exception, you give due notice in writing that they quit the country, allowing them a reasonable time, not exceeding three months, to settle their affairs, and in case of their refusal you are to inform the Nabob thereof that he may use his own authority to compel them to depart.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS,

CHUNAR,
The 23rd September 1781.

A true copy,

J. HILL,

Assistant to the Resident.

Copy of the Agreement concluded by the Governor-General with the Vizier on the 19th of September 1781.

The Nabob Vizier-ul-Mummalick Assuf-ul Dowlah Assof Jah Yeheyah Khan Bahadur, having repeatedly and urgently represented that he is unable to support the expenses of the temporary brigade, cavalry, and English officers with their battalions, as well as other gentlemen who are now paid by him under the denomination of Sebundy, &c., &c., and having made sundry requests to that and other purposes, and as the constancy and firmness of his alliance with the Company entitle him to every consideration and relief that may depend upon us, I, Warren Hastings, Governor-General, Imaud-ud-Dowlah Jelladit Jung Bahadur, &c., &c., on behalf of the Governor-General and Council, have agreed to the undermentioned articles the 19th day of September in the year of our Lord 1781, corresponding to the last day of Ramzan 1195 of the Hidjiri:—

1st.—That the temporary brigade and three regiments of cavalry be no longer charged to the Nabob's account for the year Fuslee 1189, excepting a term of two and a half months which is required for their passing the Nabob's boundaries, and for which, together with all former arrears, their usual pay and allowances are to be made good. Also the English officers with their Sebundy battalions and other gentlemen, excepting the Resident's office, now upon the Nabob's list, be no longer at his charge for the year 1189, the arrears being paid up with the addition of two months' allowances, the true meaning of this being that no more troops be paid for by the Nabob than a number of European infantry, artillery, and sepoys agreed for, under the title of one brigade, with the late Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah, now paid for at the rate of Rs. 2,60,000 per month, to which is now to be added one regiment of sepoys of the present establishment expressly allowed for the purpose of protecting the office, treasury, and person of the Resident at Lucknow, the pay and allowances of which are to commence

from the 1st of Aughun next at the rate of Rs. 25,000 per month, the regiment to be relieved every three months, the brigade to be stationed or moved whenever the Nabob shall direct, in the mode prescribed in the former treaty with the Nabob Vizier, deceased, and finally that whenever the Nabob Vizier shall require a further aid of troops from the Company, the pay and allowances shall commence from the day of their passing the Caramnassa. Also should the assistance of the Nabob's troops be required by the Company, their pay and allowances as may then be agreed upon be allowed during the time they may serve.

2nd.—That as great distress has arisen to the Nabob's Government from the military power and dominion assumed by the jagheerdars, he be permitted to resume such as he may find necessary, with a reserve that all such for the amount of whose jagheers the Company are guarantees shall, in case of the resumption of their lands, be paid the amount of their net collections through the Resident in ready money.

3rd.—That as Fyz Olla Khan has, by his breach of treaty, forfeited the protection of the English Government, and causes, by his continuance in his present independent state, great alarm and detriment to the Nabob, he be permitted, when time shall suit, to resume his lands and pay him in money through the Resident the amount stipulated by treaty, after deducting the amount and charges of the troops he stands engaged to furnish by treaty, which amount shall be passed to the account of the Company during the continuance of the present war.

4th.—That no English Resident be appointed to Furruckabad, and the present one recalled.

5th.—That the treaties made between the English and the Nabob Shuja-ud-Dowlah be ratified between the present parties, as far as may be consistent with the above written articles, and that no officers, troops, or others be put upon the Nabob's establishment, exclusive of those herein stipulated.

WARREN HASTINGS.

A true copy,

W. HILL,

Assistant to the Resident.

Copy of the Agreement made by the Vizier with the Governor-General.

Having on my behalf agreed to the requisitions of the Nabob Vizier without diminution or reserve, I must now repeat the request, which I before verbally make to him, that he will be pleased to attend to such proposals as I shall have to make to him, and to these I expect his assent the more readily, as they have for their ultimate object his interest alone, that of the Company being no further concerned than in the influence which they will eventually have in the payment of the debt due from the Nabob to the Company. I therefore recommend to him to reduce the great number of his subsidy and other troops to regular and complete establishments, not to be paid by assignments of revenue, but in money from the treasury, and their number not to exceed the certain means of paying them. But as this may be difficult, without making a separation of the Nabob's public and private funds, I further recommend that he receive into his private purse no more than a fixed monthly sum for the expenses of his person and household, and that the remainder of the net collections be left in the public treasury, under the management of his public Ministers, and the inspection of the Resident, for the discharge of his military and civil disbursements.

This advice is not meant to affect the assignments actually made, and which must be annually renewed for the payment of the past debt and the current demands of the Company.

Signed and sealed by the Nabob,
Accepting and promising to conform to the above advice.

A true copy,

W. HILL,
Assistant to the Resident.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 21st July 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. MACPHERSON, *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 9th instant.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute upon the letter from Fort St. George of the 25th of May replying to the orders of this Government for delivering the assignment of the Carnatic up to the Nabob :—

GOVERNOR-GENERAL—I know that it is not the intention of this Board to waste its time in a refutation of so voluminous and laboured a composition as that which has been addressed to it from the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George. They indeed have guarded against such a reception of it by a kind of anticipated protest against a short reply, which they say may in some cases stand in greater need of an apology than one of length. But we have other cases, and feel that a misapplication of time to a frivolous disputation, with the pressure of so many calls for a disposal of it in the service of the public interests, and in a provision for their preservation, would be a weak if not a criminal desertion of our great official trusts. The letter addressed to us, of which I consider Lord Macartney's minute a part, since it makes part of the same general subject, consists of fifty-four full written sheets of general letter paper. A reply in the common form to so ponderous a volume would not be sufficient. Its perplexities must be first unravelled, its obscurities explained, its ambiguities stated in every sense of their construction, its disjointed parts taken from the order in which they stand to write and discriminate their relative subjects, and their relation braced to those to which they professedly reply, for neither the narrative nor argumentative parts of this work resembles ordinary writings. It possesses two qualities, peculiar, and one most characteristic. The first is that when a proposition intended to establish any doubtful fact has been stated in plain terms, it is often repeated in a variety of changes, gradually departing from the original question, till both that and its object are involved in ten-fold obscurity. The other, which is peculiar, but common to all the writings of the present Administration of Fort St. George, is to select the opinions of every person whose sentiments have been known to be most opposite to theirs, and whose judgment they have most undeviatingly rejected when applied to the formation of public measures, to apply them without regard to the immediate question and without any relation to difference of facts, or distance of time in which they were originally delivered. For what connection can be traced or forced between an answer given by me seventeen years ago before the House of Commons said to be an assertion that the Nabob was desirous of obtaining

the Soubaship of Bengal, and other extensive establishments for his numerous family, with the right of Lord Macartney to violate a solemn engagement made with the Nabob, an engagement founded on the sacrifice or oblivion of every sentiment of ambition?

From what has been said it will appear that a reply to such a production would be many times more voluminous than the production itself, and who would read it? Not those whose fatigued attention has already laboured through the first, and who would comprehend it without a previous reading and hard study of the first? Even these reflections, though applied only to the general character of the writings before us, and necessary perhaps to the conviction of those, who not having read these writings will naturally conclude that they contain something worthy of reply, have already led me into an inordinate length, and let this serve as a specimen of that to which a regular examination of the whole would be inevitably protracted. I yet offer them with some reluctance. Let them stand, if they stand, unconnected with our more substantial deliberations. To these I now proceed.

In the examination of the subject presented to the Board by the letter from the Select Committee of Fort St. George, it will be necessary to review the principal facts and events which have led to the present state of it.

In the beginning of the year 1781, the Nawab Wallah Jah deputed his Diwan Seyud Assam Cawn and W. Richard Joseph Sulivan to this Government with a commission to make a tender of the revenues of the Carnatic to the Company in trust for defraying the expenses of the war, on the condition that this Government would bind itself as guarantees for the preservation of his rights of sovereignty. As the Government of Fort St. George had repeatedly and urgently demanded an assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic, and the Nabob has perseveringly refused it, the Governor-General and Council, although they had hitherto avoided all interference in the mutual concern of the Nabob and the Presidency of Fort St. George, thought themselves warranted and even bound by the charge which had devolved to them of the general interest of the Company, no less from the share which had fallen to this Government of their defence and maintenance than from the controlling powers vested in it by the Act of Parliament and the orders of the Court of Directors, to accept an engagement which promised a relief most seasonably wanted for the great exigencies of the Government of Madras, which had been repeatedly refused to that Government demanding it, and which, if it produced nothing, left us but where we were before it was taken.

We accepted the engagement under mutual ties sanctified on our part by the seal of the Company and the signature of its legal representatives, by which the instrument of it became as inviolable an article of public and national faith as the most sacred treaty drawn up in all the forms and modes of expression which are observed by the States of Europe. This engagement was executed on the 2nd of April, and the Nabob's Minister returned with it to Fort St. George.

In the meantime an important change had taken place in the Government of Fort St. George by the removal of the actual President and some of the members of the Council, and by the appointment of Lord Macartney to the first place in it. His arrival preceded even our knowledge of the intention or the most distant probability of his appointment. Had we foreseen it it is possible that we should have declined the engagement and referred the Nabob to the new Administration. Such a conduct under such a change of circumstances would certainly have been proper. But as the treaty was made it was irrevocable, and with all the deference which is due to the authority of the Directors its obligation precluded even the effect of their orders, if these exceeded the provision left for their confirmation. Of this point I shall treat more fully hereafter. All that remained to render it effectual was to reconcile the new Government to it, and to engage their faithful observance of the conditions which had been pledged to the Nabob, while they received the benefits of it in the aid which it promised to the measures of their Administration. I appeal to a letter which I wrote to Lord Macartney on the first notice of his arrival for an evidence of my endeavours to produce this happy concurrence,

and of the sincerity with which they were exerted. I make no apology for this liberty because His Lordship has already put the Court of Directors in possession of a part of the letter to which I allude, though I think not of the whole. I shall therefore subjoin a copy of it, with the omission of one passage, which I do not think myself warranted to publish. It will amply acquit this Government, for I wrote with a clear knowledge of Mr. Wheler's general sentiments, though I was too distant to consult him at the time, of having wantonly sought to interfere in the concerns of the Presidency of Fort St. George, and of having been the aggressors in the differences which have unhappily arisen between the two Presidencies on the subject of our engagement with the Nabob.

To this document I shall add another, which is the copy of a letter written by my Secretary, Mr. Stephen Sulivan, to Mr. Richard Sulivan, desiring him to make an offer to Lord Macartney of the resignation of the office, which had been conferred on him by this Government, and Mr. Richard Sulivan's relation of what passed between Lord Macartney and him upon the subject.

It appears that though the treaty was received and notified so early as the 24th of August, nothing was effectually done in execution of it except the appointment of the Committee of Assigned Revenue, so late as the beginning of December, nor that it was ever acknowledged by the Presidency of Fort St. George. Many demands were made on the Nabob which were termed infringements of the treaty by him, and his answers evasions by the Government of Fort St. George. At length, wearied with a fruitless contest, and over-persuaded by Mr. Richard Sulivan, our Agent, the Nabob yielded to a proposal made to him by Lord Macartney that he should assign to His Lordship the whole and undivided charge of the revenues of the Carnatic. The Nabob did accordingly, on the 2nd of December, deliver to Lord Macartney such an assignment with an express stipulation that His Lordship should choose and nominate the Collectors with the form and ostensible sanction of the Nabob's sunnud for their appointments. It appears that the first appointments were made with a faithful observance of the stipulated form; but that on the 18th April 1782 the Nabob having objected to two Collectors nominated by Lord Macartney, and having requested that His Lordship would permit him to state to him in person his objections, Lord Macartney construed this hesitation into a refusal, and made the appointment by his own authority, and without the sunnuds of the Nabob.

It may be proper to detain the narrative at this point to observe that in the relation of this transaction by Lord Macartney and the Select Committee it is positively affirmed that the Nabob refused to grant the sunnuds, and an appeal is made to a letter which the Nabob wrote upon the occasion, and to a comment of the Select Committee upon it to prove it.

I am afraid that the Nabob's letter is not on our proceedings which were held in January last. It is important, and as an evidence essential. I shall therefore desire to add it to this minute with an extract of the resolution of the Select Committee concerning it. It will be clearly seen by the former that the Nabob did not refuse to grant his sunnuds to the renters chosen by Lord Macartney; that on the contrary he complained of His Lordship's precipitancy in refusing to allow him a few hours to consider on the business; and the minute of the Select Committee does not declare that the Nabob had refused to sign the toranna chits or sunnuds, but infers only that it was not his intention to sign them.

With respect to the informality of which the Nabob complained, Mr. Halliburton's evidence places this transaction in a light something different from the relation of it made by Sayud Assam Cawn. Sayud Assam Cawn had deposed that the sunnuds were drawn in the name of Lord Macartney, and had produced copies of the muchilkas to prove it. Mr. Halliburton affirms that the sunnuds were never produced either to the Nabob or his managers, but only the muchilkas of which they were allowed to take copies, and required immediately to return them. And Lord Macartney and his Select Committee take the advantage of this default in Sayud Assam Cawn's evidence to pronounce him guilty of perjury. The fact appears to be truly stated in Mr. Halliburton's deposition, but is by no means a ground to charge Sayud Assam

Cawn's deposition with falsehood. He saw only the muchilkas. These are most undoubtedly drawn out with the name of Lord Macartney in the place where the Nabob's should have stood. If Sayud Assam Cawn saw the muchilkas and saw no more, he had a right to conclude that the sunnuds were also drawn out in the same form, for such is the universal practice in all Hindustan and Deccan. The sunnuds or aumilnamas of the Government, and the cabuliats of the zemindars or renters are always counterparts of each other. The toranama chittie in the technical language of the Carnatic, answers to the sunnud or aumilnama of Bengal, and the muchilka to our kabuliat. If therefore Sayud Assam Cawn saw the one, he had a right to infer the other from it. They ought to have been the same if they were not, nor was he answerable for Lord Macartney's deviation from the established usage, whether dictated by caprice, ignorance, or motives of expediency, which however proper were unknown to him.

Lord Macartney, having thus violated in the first instance and on so slight a pretext the condition of the assignment, thought himself from that time wholly absolved from the obligation to observe it. Many other appointments of Aumils were successively made by Lord Macartney without the Nabob's sunnud, without any application for them, and without the Nabob's knowledge, but such as he might acquire by unofficial channels. Of these facts, as Lord Macartney has, not perhaps in terms of strict legal propriety or even decency, rejected the evidence of Mr. Sulivan and Sayud Assam Cawn, I shall appeal for evidence to his own letters; to that now before the Board avowing that he did appoint the Aumildars of Neelour and Shuranpilly without the Nabob's sunnud, because the Nabob had refused to grant them; to the Nabob's letter which His Lordship and Select Committee declare to contain the refusal, but which does not contain it; and to the letter of Lord Macartney and the Select Committee addressed to Sir Eyre Coote and dated on the 4th of July 1782, in which they avow and declare that since the first deviation all appointments of the Aumils had been made without the Nabob's sunnud.

Of these infringements of the assignment, the Nabob complained and demanded reparation of them from this Government as the principals and guarantees of the treaty, in the faith of which the assignment was expressly delivered. At the same time his Minister Sayud Assam Cawn offered in the name of his master to give soucar security for payment of a rent exceeding one-third the collections made by Lord Macartney, with other similar conditions. The Governor-Genera and Council, separating the demand of justice from the offer of compensation, entered into a laborious and minute examination of the former, pronounced the assignment and treaty to have been broken, and ordered the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George to restore to the Nabob the charge of the collections and the possession of whatever rights of sovereignty had been taken from the Nabob in effect of the treaty or of the assignment. The Governor-General and Council accepted the offer made by the Nabob of increased payments of revenue, and agreed to yield back the charge and possession of the collections, giving due notice of both to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George.

Our letters with these proceedings and instruments were dispatched in such a manner as to afford Sayud Assam Cawn and Mr. Sulivan the means of delivering them in person, and to afford time for the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote on whose support we principally relied for the effectual observance of our orders and engagements. Of the fate of Sir Eyre Coote I need not speak. The President and Select Committee of Fort St. George have acknowledged the receipt of our dispatches of 28th of March. After a delay of near two months computed to the date of the last letter, which is dated the 25th of May but was not dispatched till the 20th or 21st of June, they have formally apprized us that they had not complied with our engagement nor obeyed our orders, and that they should do neither until they should have received a confirmation of the latter, intimating in one place a promise of submission in these words: "At any rate in postponing the execution of your orders we do not preclude a future compliance with them. And in another, alluding to an assertion made by the Darbar that it was our intention to remove the Select Committee, they plainly declare the contrary in the following words: "We shall be better pleased to see

a dissolution of our Government effected by a vote of your Board than by the consequences which might result from a surrender of the assignment to Amir-ul-Umrah, Sayud Assam Cawn, and Mr. Benfield."

Without attempting to unravel the meaning of these opposite passages, as they may be supposed to indicate the intentions of the President and Select Committee of Fort Saint George, it is certain that they yet retain the Nabob's assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic in violation of our engagements and in disobedience of our orders.

I now return to the orders of the Court of Directors, on which the President and Select Committee now ground their disobedience of ours, having reserved it for the close of the preceding narrative, which would have been interrupted by an earlier discussion.

See General letter dated.

It has already been proved that those orders immediately following the renunciation of the treaty, which by the express inference of the Court of Directors themselves necessarily implied the renunciation of every act done in consequence of it, and of every benefit derived from it, were of course rendered of no effect by the ground assigned for them, namely, that they understood the assignment to have been granted not as an effect of the treaty but as the voluntary and independant act of the Nabob. But the reverse appears, not constructively, in the very letter of the Nabob, from which his voluntary grant of the assignment is extracted, and if it were possible to misunderstand a declaration so positively expressed, the frequent repetitions of it since made by the Nabob, and the vehement protestations against the iniquity of withholding his assignment put the conclusion beyond all possibility of doubt.

I have conformed to the language of the Select Committee in admitting the term of "orders" as applied to what the Court of Directors have said concerning the retention of the assignment. Their words are these :—

"We acquiesce therein as the Nabob has assured us in a letter of 26th January last that this assignment of the revenues of his country was a voluntary act of his own." General letter to Fort St. George, dated 12th July 1782, paragraph 40.

It is perversion of language to call these words orders. They express no more than acquiescence, nor even that, but with the reservation of a supposition, which wanting a foundation in fact, the acquiescence itself becomes annulled with it, yet the Select Committee dwell with a fatiguing repetition on the same term, exacting our obedience to the orders of the Company for maintaining the assignment, and, unless my recollection fails me, to the Nabob they affirm that these orders of the Company are positive and peremptory.

But I will admit for a moment that the Court of Directors had issued such orders, and that they were as express and positive as words could make them; yet I will presume to say that they were delivered under such circumstances as would render obedience both criminal in itself, and even disrespectful to the authority which prescribed it.

If there is any principle of faith or moral obligation more sacred than any other, it is that which binds great aggregate bodies of men to one another by the interchange of solemn treaties; and by the inverse of the proposition a breach of treaty is a crime of the blackest dye. Unhappily no provision is made for it by our law, which either permits the violation of public faith by which millions are affected in their lives, properties, and dearest relations, and by which the national character is exposed to infamy with impunity; or if it exists, it is unknown, or its terrors are lost in the frequency and facility with which it is daily broken.

By the Act of Parliament which constituted the present system of the British dominions in India, the Presidencies of India were left in possession of the same powers which they possessed by former Acts and Charters to make war, peace, and treaties, with the restriction of the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay. By certain exceptions that of Bengal was left wholly free and unexcepted, and armed besides with a power of suspending the members of the other Presidencies who should at any time offend against such restrictions.

We had therefore an undoubted authority to make the treaty which we did make with the Nabob Wallah Jah. It follows of equal necessity that when made it was binding on every Government of the Company, and on every member of every Government, but more especially on that which made it. From a due and respectful deference to the authority of the Court of Directors, we inserted in the treaty a reservatory clause subjecting it to their confirmation or rejection. They rejected it, and thereby changed the quality of the former obligation. We were no longer bound by the specific conditions of the treaty, but our faith, the faith of the Company, and the national faith were now pledged for the restoration of the Nabob's rights in every instance in which they had been changed by the treaty while it existed. This is a conclusion so inevitable and so self-dependant, that I know not how to prove it, and feel too high a respect for the virtues of my countrymen to doubt of its being universally admitted.

I know no authority upon earth which can grant a dispensation from a moral obligation. This Government legally qualified, and surely warranted by the occasion, has formed a treaty with the Nabob of the Carnatic. The obligation of it is reduced to the short proposition of replacing him in the State from which he was displaced by the treaty. Its public obligation is equally binding on every member of the Government, because they are all charged with the same common duties, but on Mr. Wheler and myself it rests with accumulated weight. We are personally involved in it. We made the treaty. We have been the instruments of involving the Nabob Wallah Jah in all the dreadful consequences of it, and on us, therefore, it is peculiarly incumbent to afford him the redress which he has claimed at our hands.

I forbear to add in this place the conclusion which ought to be annexed to these premises. I have written these sheets not knowing the actual sentiments of the other members of the Board, and hesitate to prescribe what I ought to suppose will be their unanimous resolution. One warning, however, I may presume to give from the papers before us, which is, not to place any reliance on a temporizing conduct, or to expect that by persevering in the tenderness and forbearance which have been hitherto shewn to the members of the Government of Fort St. George, we shall influence them to a similar return, since we have found every former instance of both produced in crimination against us by the very men who were the objects of them.

WARREN HASTINGS.

COPY.

Dated on the River Ganges near Bhaugulpur, the 23rd July 1781.

To The Right Hon'ble Lord Macartney.

My Lord,—In the letter which I have already had the honour to address to Your Lordship I expressed my regret that I had not known of your appointment in time to have furnished you with explanations on some particular points, of which I expect that an advantage will have been taken to prejudice your mind with injurious and dangerous opinions of the designs of this Government with relation to yours. From the candour which Your Lordship appears to possess, I have no doubt that I should have found it an easy point to satisfy you of the propriety and fairness of our acts, and even of their necessity. But as it had happened, you will have taken your line, and anything which I can write on past subjects may arrive too late to produce their effect. I feel the discouragement of this reflexion, but I shall not yield to it, trusting that you will have had the caution, under whatever impression, to avoid so decided a conduct as may disable you from yielding to the influence of better information, or (which I rather expect) that you will have at once resolved to adopt our principles, and heartily to support and carry the measures formed upon them into effect.

Let me premise that our Government has a weight of business of its own, already as great as it can sustain, and a responsibility sufficiently hazardous

and delicate in itself to make it dread any addition to it; and, My Lord, I fancy that you have found the affairs in the Carnatic in a state that would afford little temptation to us, were we ever so vacant of employment, to assume a participation in the conduct and events of its Administration. This may serve for a general proof that it was not from choice that we have in any instance interfered in the concerns of that province, or of your Presidency. I desire Your Lordship to look back on the transactions of the last twelve months, and weigh by your own judgement the many things that we have done for the relief and preservation of Fort St. George. That which was undesirably good has been accepted as a rightful claim; the rest, as I am told, either treated with derision or resented as injurious. I allude particularly to the treaty proposed with the Dutch, a measure extorted by the cries of dispair, and judged in the elation of a sudden return of success; and to the agreement lately concluded with the Nabob Wallah Jah. To this I shall confine the sequel of this letter.

The letters from the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, from the beginning of the war with Hyder, had invariably represented the resources of the Carnatic as lost beyond all hope to them, either from the Nabob's inability to collect them or his determination to withhold them.

We expressed it as our firm opinion that every rupee of the Carnatic ought to be primarily and exclusively applied to its defence; that as our force alone maintained it we had a right to demand assignments of the whole revenue, and even to take it if refused. In the meantime they had made the demand, and the Nabob had refused it, but the demand and refusal were in one instance so mysterious that we could not comprehend the latent causes of either. The Sircars of Angole section had been assigned to the Nabob's private creditors, but as they had gained nothing by the assignment, they proposed to transfer it to the Company on the condition that credit should be given them in the Company's name for the receipts, that these might be employed in the meantime for the expenses of the war. The Committee demanded the assignment, but took no notice of the condition; and the Nabob naturally refused it, because he had already granted it to his creditors; and with this state of the case both parties referred it to us, the creditors remonstrating against the mode in which the demand was made as subjecting the Nabob to a rejection of it, by which all parties must be losers; and the Committee stating it as a confirmed proof of the Nabob's disaffection. At the same time the Nabob's Dewan Assam Cawn and Mr. Richard Sulivan arrived in Calcutta, charged with a special commission from the Nabob to conclude a treaty with this Government, of which the first condition, and the first apparent object of their deputation, was, that we would accept the assignment of his revenues and employ them on the public service; and this condition was not offered for our benefit, but solicited as if his interest alone was likely to be promoted by our assent to it. This was the foundation of the agreement; and as it promised a most seasonable relief to the Carnatic, which we could not easily afford to lose. Having already exhausted both our resources and credit in that and other emergent occasions of the Company's affairs, we readily and gladly accepted the offer, guarding it with such provisions as appeared to us necessary to prevent its being defeated, or perverted to other purposes. Your Lordship will not ask why we thought our intervention on this occasion necessary, and why we did not rather refer the accommodation to the Presidency of Fort St. George, which was the regular instrument of the Company's participation in the Government of the Carnatic. But I will suppose the question; I might properly answer it by another: why did the Company withdraw their confidence from the same ministry to bestow it on Your Lordship? As I have promised Your Lordship my confidence and write this for your own and sole perusal, I will tell you that I saw, or believed I saw, an influence prevailing in that Government, which I could not approve. I should be sorry to be put to the necessity of declaring such a belief in public, because I make large allowances for the gentlemen who were in actual possession of the Government. Even the offer made and pressed upon this Government by the Nabob of what he had perseveringly denied to the importunity of that with which he was immediately connected, though not such an evidence as a court of law would admit, is a proof, which cannot fail to operate with the strongest internal

conviction on every unbiassed mind, that the opinion had but too just a foundation. And after all what have we done? for others everything, for ourselves nothing, unless it be supposed that we rescued the Nabob from the thraldom in which he was held by others, to exercise the same lucrative species of oppression on him ourselves, an imputation which I know will be suggested and the world will readily give it credit, but which I should abhor myself if I thought that any man who knew me would admit but with a moment's hesitation. Had I known that a man of Your Lordship's character had been chosen to administer the affairs of that Government, I believe that I should have persuaded the Nabob to trust his interests in your hands rather than make such a separation of them from their ancient and more natural connection, and from the moderation of Mr. Wheler's disposition, I think he would have agreed with me in that preferable accommodation. But as it has been made an act of this Government, and its faith pledged in the most sacred manner to the performance of it, it can neither be revoked nor qualified, and I most earnestly conjure Your Lordship to give it your firm and hearty support.

The principal articles of this agreement are the 8th, 10th, 11th, and 14th. On these I shall offer a few remarks.

To render the mode of collection prescribed in the 8th and 10th articles effectual, I would recommend that the Commissioners should be allowed a commission or percentage, and a liberal one, upon the sums which they shall realize, and no fixed appointments. It is the principle which we have lately adopted, and have applied to every great department of our own Government, and I will venture to answer for its complete success if you will make the trial of it. If you trust to the integrity of those whom you charge with unchecked receipts of lakhs, and allow them such ostensible salaries as will only afford them the bare means of subsistence, they will make up the deficiency by secret perquisites, to which no man ever yet set due bounds. The consequence is inevitable, especially in this remote quarter of the world where men must look for a competency in their latter days. The commission will be an incitement to exertion, and will be a tie on the honor and fidelity of those who receive it, for I am persuaded that the generality of the Company's servants will be better contented with a moderate but sure provision by such allowed means than to be let loose on an unbounded scene of plunder, which must be a source of perpetual reproach and apprehension for the consequences of detection. I beg Your Lordship to receive this not as a light recommendation. It is a favorite doctrine confirmed by many years' reflection and experience, although it is but lately that I have had it in my power to apply it. I believe that the same sentiments will appear recorded by myself on your Consultations even at so distant a period as the year 1771. I can say little on the subject of Tanjour, for I can hardly allow it the credit of a serious argument. The meanness of our first letters dignified the Raja with the title of King, and by that misnomer, if I may call it so, he has acquired all the prerogatives of royalty, though the Nabob, his undoubted sovereign, has been without scruple treated as a dependant. If these ridiculous prejudices are allowed to operate against every principle of justice and policy, and (I must add) of common sense, it is a pity that they could not be confined to the season of peace and security. Surely this is not a time to encourage or yield to the delusion. The late President and Select Committee informed us that the Raja had refused to contribute a store of grain to the subsistence of the army, for which the President had written to him a letter expressive of his displeasure. This is a language so remote from my conception of the actual and absolute rights of your Government, while it is charged with the entire defence of the State of which the Raja of Tanjour is a member, and of his dependance, that I can scarce offer an opinion which shall not appear extravagant in the comparison. In a word I think it improper at such a time to leave the Raja an option to withhold a grain of his store or a rupee of his treasury from the service of the general state, and most heartily advise that while that service, in the present desperate condition of it, lasts, the whole, with the single reservation of his own personal subsistence, be taken out of his hands in better trust for the public use. These are my public, not private sentiments, and Your Lordship is welcome to avail yourself of them in any manner you please. Most heartily do I wish they may be conformable to your own.

The Nabob's debt to individuals is become an object of too great magnitude and extent to be treated on the principles on which it might have been proper to judge it in its commencement, as it is grown into a kind of national property; and the fortunes of so many are concerned in it that it will force itself upon the protection of the public if some lenient expedient be not found to put the claims of the creditors on some footing on which they can rely for their recovery.

At the same time, if they are allowed to grow with the yearly accumulation of the present interest, or even the principal to remain at its actual amount, the manifest impossibility of its being ever discharged or diminished will be a discouragement to every attempt to effect either.

It was with an equal regard to these united considerations that we recommended the plan of adjustment and liquidation, which is described in the 11th article of the agreement.

Mr. Richard Sulivan, who professed to know the sentiments of the creditors, assured me that instead of repining at the retrenchments which we have proposed, they would be thankful for the provision which was left them, having had little ground to hope for any payment. I express my hopes on this subject with the greater confidence of their meeting your judgment, from a communication which has been lately made to me by Mr. Stephen Sulivan, of a letter written by his father to Your Lordship, in which he recommends a plan for the liquidation of the Nabob's debt on exactly the same principles as that of ours, but differing in the application only by the difference which was rendered necessary by the alteration made in the state of affairs since his letter was written.

The reason of the 12th article is self-evident. It may also appear unnecessary, for surely the past experience of the insecurity of the Nabob's credit would be sufficient of itself to prevent any one hereafter from trusting to it. But this will be forgotten when the danger is past, and even the remedy will be a lure for new adventurers.

I shall not make excuses for the length of this letter. It will cost Your Lordship less time to read it than I have spent in writing it, and you will receive it as a proof of the value which I set on Your Lordship's concurrence in my line of thinking by the pains which I have taken to gain it. You will have heard that I have subjected myself to reproach for the deficiencies of my private correspondence, and as much as I wish to avoid that imputation with Your Lordship, I am afraid that occasions will happen to draw it upon me, and thus early bespeak your indulgence if ever this shall prove the case. I am at this time happily furnished with unusual leisure, and have gratified my own inclinations, and performed, I hope, not an unacceptable service to Your Lordship in this employment of it.

I beg leave to conclude this letter and the general subject of it with a recommendation of Mr. Richard Sulivan to your protection and countenance. You will find him deeply and minutely informed in the Nabob's affairs, of pleasing manner, and if you shall think fit to make use of his services, possessed of honorable and faithful principles.

I left Calcutta on the 7th instant and hope to reach Benares by the middle of next month. I shall proceed to Lucknow, and I shall expect to return to Calcutta before the end of October, if no very urgent cause detains me, which I do not apprehend, beyond that period.

I shall continue to write Your Lordship upon other important subjects. In the meantime I beg that you will believe me to be with real esteem.

My Lord,

Your most obedient and

most faithful servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Read the following letter from Fort St. George:—

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,—We have the honor to inform you that we have received accounts of a pacification having taken place between the Courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, and the American States, which accounts are corroborated by such circumstances as leave no doubt of the facts. The Select Committee have, in consequence of this news and with the concurrence of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, determined to communicate the same by a deputation to Monsieur Le Marquis de Bussy, representative of the French nation, and to propose to him an immediate cessation of arms. To this determination we are impelled by the dictates of humanity, and by the example of our sovereign who has stipulated with his most Christian Majesty that sincere friendship shall be re-established between them and their kingdoms, States, and subjects by sea and land in all parts of the world.

We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the preliminaries which were signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain on the 28th of January, and ratified the 9th February; and also a copy of the Commission, letter, and instructions which we have thought necessary on the occasion, and which are perfectly in the spirit and letter of the treaty. For the situation of our military affairs on this coast previous to this event, we refer to the enclosed papers from our latest Consultations, and shall have the honor to write to you more fully on the return of our Commissioners from Monsieur de Bussy.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
The 27th June 1783.

We have the honor to be, &c.,
MACARTNEY.

Read also the following letter received last night by the *Medea* from SIR EDWARD HUGHES, who is now coming into the Roads with His Majesty's Squadron.

To The RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY, K.B., President and Governor, &c., Select Committee of Madras.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the honor of your letters of the 11th and 15th of this instant by the *Lizard* and *Naiade*, and am to inform you that on the 16th the enemy's squadron bore down upon that under my command off Cuddalore, upon which I made the signal to weigh in pursuit of the enemy; the 17th, 18th, and 19th we continued it in order to gain the wind of the enemy that an action might by that means be more decisive; the 20th had such appearance, but the wind shifting in their favor, and bearing down to engage I determined to receive them. At 5 minutes past 4 P.M. an engagement ensued, but the enemy having it in their power to take their distance the engagement continued till night put an end to it with the loss of 103 officers and men on our part and 429 wounded. I saw nothing of the enemy the day after. While we were employed learning the state of the ships of the squadron and lying to repairing our damages, the enemy's squadron appeared again yesterday morning at anchor in shore, got under weigh, and kept their wind to the south-east.

I shall send the wounded men on the store ships, &c., that are of no use to us being empty, after taking out their water and men, to enable us to continue to the southward in pursuit of the enemy and support of the expedition against Cuddalore, which I hope will soon take effect, as I understand every necessary was landed before I stood out of the road and that the enemy's squadron has not impeded the General's operations. I shall look out for the *Montague*, *Francis*, and *Winterton*, the ships you intend for our supply and remain by that means as long as I can to the southward, notwithstanding the state of the squadron in want of men, water, and provisions; in respect to the first above 1,100 men short in sick, wounded, and lost in battle exclusive of short compliments before.

The co-operation at Negapatam and Cuddalore are different things. There was no enemy's squadron to look after, the intended supplies came to us without protection there; here they must be protected from the enemy's squadron,

as the *Bristol*, *Naiade*, and *Lizard* and *St. Carlos* have fortunately been. I sent the *Active* to try if *Porto Novo* could supply us water. Captain Tronbridge found it in possession of the Looties. Had it been otherways, there was no craft or catamaran to be engaged for the purpose, and that ship was obliged to return on my getting under sail to receive the enemy. I anchored here last night to shift topmasts, divide the water, and put the wounded men into the transports necessary to be done to put the ships in a condition to attack the enemy to advantage.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

EDWARD HUGHES.

"SUPERB" AT ANCHOR OFF ALAMPARVA,

The 23rd June 1783.

933 Government of India Central Printing Office—No. 36 F. D.—6-6-50—

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 24th to 31st July 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 24th July 1783.

Thursday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 21st instant.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—I complain to the Board of the disrespect which has been shown to it and disobedience to its commands by Mr. Bristow. Six complete weeks have elapsed since he acknowledged the receipt of the orders of the 29th of May, which required him to reply to the charges preferred against him by the Nabob of Oude. To these he has not yet replied, but either remains in the possession of an usurped despotism scandalous to this Government permitting it, or treats its authority with an insolence of presuming indifference by a silence equally culpable, whether he is innocent or guilty of the facts of which he has been accused, or of the criminality imparted to them.

Perhaps Mr. Bristow may wish to avail himself of the principle which forbids that any man shall be condemned unheard, to withhold his defence until he shall have either exceeded the period which he has been so repeatedly portended for the close of the present Government or until he shall have concerted other means for eluding the effect of an enquiry. In the mean time the justice of the Board is liable to be arraigned by suffering such delays. It is now four months since the Nabob Vizier transmitted his grievances to me, and more than these since they were formally made known to the Board.

On these grounds I hope the Board will agree with me in the resolution of bringing this business to a decision without suffering it to depend longer on the pleasure of Mr. Bristow, and that they will allow me to bring it before their notice for that purpose on Monday next.

WARREN HASTINGS.

24th July 1784.

Fort William, the 28th July 1783.

Secret Dept. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. MACPHERSON, *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 24th instant.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute:—

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—Conformably to the declaration made and recorded by me in Consultation of the 24th instant, I now move that Mr. Bristow for disrespect to the Board and disobedience to the orders written to him by the Board on the 29th May and acknowledged by him on the 13th June in having up to this time avoided or neglected to reply to the same, be removed and recalled from his station and office at Lucknow.

I also move that as the Nabob of Oude, in his letter of the 7th April last and laid before the Board on the 21st of the same month, has desired that Messrs. Bristow and Cowper, the actual Resident and Deputy, appointed for the

transaction of the Company's affairs at his Court, may be recalled from thence, and that he may be allowed "the exercise of discretional power for the management of his country, and the payment of the Company's money" or debt, and has engaged that on these considerations he will pay the full amount of whatever shall be due to the Company both of the past and growing debt in such manner as the Board shall prescribe; the office of Resident at the Court of the Nabob of Oude with that of the Deputy and other subordinate parts of the same establishment, excepting the office of Accountant, be dissolved, and the Nabob of Oude and his Minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, made jointly responsible according to the terms of their letters, as set forth in the extracts hereunto subjoined, for the payment of the same due, and which may become due, to the Company for the present and ensuing year Fuslee ending in September 1784.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The Secretary begs leave to inform the Board that he has within these two days received private letters from Mr. Bristow, dated the 16th instant, which mentions that his "indisposition prevented him from writing or answering the complaint so soon as he ought but that his letter would be dispatched tomorrow or next day at furthest he hoped."

Ordered that the Governor-General's minutes be sent in circulation for the consideration of the members of the Board.

The Governor-General informs the Board that he has also brought a continuation of the letters which he has received from the Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn, and desires that they may be sent in circulation, and copies transmitted to Mr. Bristow for his answer to them, but that they may not be considered as forming any part of the present question, being totally independent of it.

Extract from the Nabob Vizier's letter to the Hon'ble the Governor-General.
Received 7th April 1783.

I am ready and willing to pay the Company's monies, I intreat as a favour that you will recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, and permit me the exercise of discretional power for the management of my country, and the payment of the Company's monies. I will cause payment of those monies to be made through the hands of my Ministers in the manner hereafter mentioned.

That is to say, whereas Mr. Bristow has declined taking bills from the Mahajins for the balance of * teep for 26 lakhs given by them, and has taken the jauidauds † assigned to those Mahajins into his own hands, and declared that he himself will collect the amount and remit it to the Company's treasury, the truth of which you may ascertain from the Mahajins who have given teep and who declare themselves ready to grant bills for the same, if put in possession of the jauidauds originally assigned to them. When your orders establishing my authority for the management of my country and the payment of the money shall arrive, and Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper be recalled from hence, I will procure bills to be granted by those Mahajins to the amount of the balance of those teeps and transmit them to you, and whatever sums may remain due on the bills for 26 lakhs granted by Gopaul Das Sahu, from whom Mr. Bristow has taken by violence my Minister's tummussook ‡ and substituted his own in the place thereof, I will take back Mr. Bristow's tummussook from the

* TEEP—(Properly Tip H.) A note-of-hand, a promissory note or bill, a bond, a cheque; besides these meanings, which are common to all the dialects, it has special applications in some, as in Mar., taking a list of the number of houses, trees, cattle, &c., preparatory to a tax upon them. Guz. A list, an inventory, a catalogue, a roll or register. Tipu, Tel. A grant or assignment of revenue to a capitalist who has advanced money to the Government.—*Wilson's "Glossary of Indian Terms."*

† JAUIDAUDS—Properly Jaidad; less correctly, Jaedad; corruptly Jydaad, H. A place, employment: assets, funds, resources, an estate, property: the means or capabilities of any district in respect of revenue: an assignment of the revenues of a tract of land for the maintenance of an establishment or of troops, granted for life, but very commonly with permitted succession to the next-of-kin, sometimes with a rent reserved.—*Wilson's "Glossary of Indian Terms."*

‡ TUMMUSSOOK—properly Tamassuk; corruptly Tummasook, Tumussook, Tumsook, Tomsook, H. A bond, a note-of-hand, a written acknowledgment or engagement.—*Wilson's "Glossary of Indian Terms."*

gomastahs of the aforementioned Sahu, and cause it to be returned to Mr. Bristow, and for what shall remain due to the said Sahu I will cause such good and substantial securities to be given to his said gomastahs on the spot that no cause for suspicion or doubt shall remain, and with respect to the present year Fuslee, and jauidauds for the Company's money settled and received by Mr. Bristow, and for the amount of which he has taken tummussooks from the aumils of the jauidauds, let him be directed to deliver up the tummussooks of the said aumils to me, and whatever sums may remain due from the said jauidauds and payable by the said aumils, the same shall be remitted to you in bills, kist by kist, by my Ministers. Whatever sums you shall direct to be paid here from the amount thereof for the use of the Company's troops the same shall be paid monthly to the commanding officer of the troops, and for the ensuing year 1191 Fuslee. Whatever plan or mode you shall please to dictate and determine, that plan or mode on your informing me thereof shall be received and strictly followed. I will not object to or hesitate to fulfil your pleasure in any respect whatever. You will please as a mark of your friendship to recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, and confer upon me discretional authority for the management of my country, and for the payment of the Company's monies. With God's assistance I will cause those monies to be furnished and remitted by my Ministers agreeably to what I have written. If any defects or deficiency shall happen you will on the instant take whatever measures you shall think proper.

In the Nabob Vizier's own hand. I hope my friend from your kindness that I shall be delivered from these distresses, and obtain my request.

Extract from a letter from HYDER BEG CAWN to the Hon'ble the Governor-General.

Received 7th April 1783.

Relying on your goodness His Highness has requested the removal of Mr. Bristow and the grant of discretional authority to him in the management of his country and for the payment of the Company's monies, if you should be graciously disposed to comply with his request, and at the same time so far as to favor me as to appoint me, from yourself, to the management of affairs here, agreeably to the proposals made to you by His Highness, both respecting the sums remaining due on teep and on Mahajin's bills, and with regard to the present year 1190 Fuslee and for the ensuing year Fuslee 1191, in any manner you shall please to direct, I will engage, in obedience to your orders, to remit the same to you, kist by kist, in bills, and as much thereof as shall be necessary for the paymemt of the Company's troops in this quarter. So much on receipt of your orders I will pay on the spot to such commanding officer of troops as you shall direct. As I was originally raised from the dust by your hand, and am debtor to you for my rank and reputation, so now also, aided by your favor and protection, by your patronage and support, I shall be enabled to effect these objects. If you shall please to honour me with the appointment as your particular and immediate dependent, with God's assistance I will not be deficient in conducting the affairs of the Company's Sircar, or in obedience to your commands.

No. 14.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, &c., &c.*

SIR,—When I had last the honour of seeing you I more than once urged my reasons for thinking that the rebellion of Raja Cheyt Singh was but a part of a larger and more extensive one which was by the good fortune of your arrival prematurely brought forward before all the parties to it were united and properly prepared for action. In support of this belief, and to prove that I am far from being single in the espousal of it, I beg leave to trouble you with some extracts from the letters I received from Colonel Hannay written from the time of the first breaking out of the rebellion to my return to Lucknow. His situation

for obtaining the knowledge he imparts, his experience, and his judgement to guide what he advances must make his sentiments of weight and authenticity.

In his letter of the 8th of September from Fyzabad, scarcely ten days after he had set about obeying the Nabob Vizier's orders to march with his force to your assistance, he writes "that the whole country on the east side of the Gogra was in arms and rebellion; his own troops deserting and the single companies scarcely able to join other detachments; the Forts of Gorruckpore, Belma, and Dumreeiagunge taken from the aumils by the zemindars; and that even hircarrahs cannot pass, so that all communication of intelligence from his other detachments under Major McDonald, Captain Williams, and Lieutenant Gordon was cut off and at an end." He adds "this town (Fyzabad) has more the appearance of belonging to Cheyt Singh than the Vizier. The Begums have placed guards to prevent any of my people going to the bazaar in it. Within these few days Shake Chaan, with near 1,000 horse and foot, has marched from hence to Benares. (they were raised here), and I must confess that for my own part I have no doubt but Jewer Ally Khan and Bekar Ally Khan, through their agents, stirred up all the disturbances which extend from hence to Zowey Azimgur. I have sent Hoolasray to the Begum to enquire into the reasons of my people being prevented from going into the town, Cheyt Singh's being suffered to raise troops here, and why her servants attempted to prevent my getting boats to transport the Company's guns and horse from Amora. I have also desired she will give orders for seizing the family of Shake Chaan above mentioned, and when Hoolasray returns I will write you her answer. In Khyrabad, Sylack, and all the country on the (west) side of the Gogra between Fyzabad and Kyrabad, Budamly in* perfection, the aumils flying before the Gongwars and cannon firing at all hours. Cheyt Singh has sent money to Futty Sau Ghin Ray, Ajeetmull, Zalem Singh, and all the refractory Rajas to enable them to raise men. I this moment received Gordon's account of the loss of his detachments which puts my march to join you out of the question. It happened by the villainy of the Fouzdar of Sanda, Shumsheer Khan, Achulak of Behar, Ally Khan, who turned his guns upon the detachment, and an unfordable nullah front and many thousands of Rajpoots who had fought them all the way from Chowra Ghaut, made the sepoys despair. Zalem Singh and Pirty Pal Sing mean to attack Mr. Donald tomorrow with 2,100 men. Behar Ally Khan deserves death, as the loss of Gordon's detachments can only be imputed to him. His chellah would never have acted so damning a part without orders from him. Jewer Ally Khan in the Choke of Fyzabad asks every man who bears the appearance of a soldier why he goes not to Cheyt Singh for service. I mention these circumstances that you may mention them to Mr. Hastings and the Nabob, and the necessary steps be immediately taken to prevent what delay will render a very serious matter. A few days more will lead the ferment which is here to Lucknow. If the Nabob insists upon my proceeding I must bring everybody with me, for whoever is left behind will be sacrificed.

* *Sic* in Original.

On the 7th of September, Captain Williams writes—"Upon my arrival here I found that part of "Futty Sau's, Ghin Ray's, and Ajeetmull's people had crossed to Marygowlay. They have been urged to this step by Cheyt Singh, who has supplied them with a considerable sum of money, and promised them great sums if they will put the whole country in confusion; 5,000 men are on the opposite side of the river ready to cross. Futty Sau has written to all his adherents to be up in arms. *Saadit Ally* and the *Begums* are concerned deeply in the late business."

In a subsequent letter received immediately after the above, but without date, Colonel Hannay says—"I have before told you how violently the Begums' people inflame the present disturbances, and in addition to this the principal Zemindars and Rajas have all certificates under the seal of Cheyt Singh that he will supply them with whatever money they may require for subsisting all the troops they can raise. In a very short time I apprehend the greatest part of the Nabob's dominions will be in the state we are in here, and it is the general

belief of every man in this part of the country that the conduct I have related is a concerted plan for the extirpation of the English. "What may be the situation of the rest of the Nabob's dominions I know not, but it is most certain that, from Goonda to Maujid, and from Fyzabad to Benares district, and across from the Gogra to the Ganges, the country is in the utmost ferment. Should the present disturbances proceed from a plan of policy it will be concealed from you as much as possible, and therefore I take all possible means of communicating to you what I really know to be facts. I know not whether the daks pass freely from you to Lucknow, but if they do not, and no measure is immediately taken to bring about order and draw the troops together, we may be deprived of all possible means of assisting one and other, and the army lost by detached regiments; we have no communications with Bengal, and the troops on this side Benares are at present too much separated to yield one another timely assistance. I hope to God a sufficient force is ordered for the reduction of Cheyt Singh *for the people who are daily sent to him, horse and foot, from Fyzabad* and the seat of rebellion I have before named is *very great.*" In his next of the 13th he says "it is impossible in the general insurrection which now reigns almost universally for me to get the force together the Nabob demanded, or to force my way to you with a loss. The greatest anarchy prevails—the present insurrection is said and believed to be with an intention to expel the English. I am compelled to give up all the country below Goonda—be upon your guard against the Vizier, for there are many circumstances to make me believe he means to espouse the cause of Cheyt Singh; the *Begums* have almost *themselves* recruited for him.

In his next letter of the 18th he says "if you meet but with a check at Benares every man in the country is ready to fall upon your scattered parties. The state of the Vizier's dominions is in general beyond description. The insurrection is not partial, but generally spread throughout the whole, though it rages most violently in the Mahals of Sultanpore, the Mahals from Fyzabad to Benares country, the Mahals on this (east) side of the Gogra, and in Koomy, Khyrabad, and Sylak, and if I may trust to the information I received it is already begun and will soon rage as violently in Shajehanpore, Rohilkhand, Korrah, and Doab. I have already and repeatedly informed you of the dispositions of those in favour in Fyzabad, which has in fact been one of the great sources of the insurrection and the place of all others in the Vizier's dominions which has supplied Cheyt Singh with the greatest number of troops. The old Begum does in the most open and violent manner support Cheyt Singh's rebellion, and the insurrection and the Nabob's mother's accursed eunuchs are not less industrious than those of the Bunack Begum. Capital examples made of Jewar Ally Khan and Behar Ally Khan would, I am persuaded, have very best effects.

On the 20th he says after re-stating his own eminent danger—"I have already written you fully my reasons of being convinced of the treachery practised at Fyzabad, and which, I am afraid, extends to your camp, that I need say no more on the subject and again mention the general insurrection.

The truth of these positions I found most fully proved upon my return, but observed in particular that the most vigorous efforts were limited to the jaghirdars among whom the Begums, Fyzullah Khan, and Luttafut Ally Khan distinguished themselves. However, the Nabob's return, the victories gained by the troops with you in the total reduction of Cheyt Singh's country, and the march of the two regiments from Cawnpore to our assistance here have unitedly contributed to restore matters nearly to their usual tranquillity. The example most necessary to be made of the two active and turbulent eunuchs mentioned by Colonel Hannay remains yet to be done, as well as of a villain now in confinement who had assembled 5,000 Gongwars for the avowed purpose of rescuing two principal State prisoners from their confinement with the Nabob, and as it is universally believed to make an attempt upon the treasury for which he had fixed the day of the Dusserah, but was most happily detected and seized only a day before by the vigilance of the Cutwal, and the fact proved by papers found in his house. Unless spirits of this sort be controlled the worst of consequences

may be expected from the neglect, should, which God avert, any fresh opportunities occur.

I have the honor to be with respect,

SIR,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

LUCKNOW,
The 17th October 1781.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 31st July 1783.

Thursday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 29th instant.

Considered the Governor-General's motions recorded in Consultation the 28th instant:—

1st.—For the removal of Mr. Bristow from Lucknow; and

2ndly.—That the office of Resident and its dependencies, except the Accountantship, be dissolved, and the Nabob and his Minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, be jointly responsible (according to the terms of their letters to to the Governor-General) for the payment of the sums due, and which may become due, to the Company for the present and ensuing year Fuslee ending in September 1784.

MR. STABLES—I cannot assent to the first question until I see what Mr. Bristow has to say in his justification. I object to the second question, and shall assign my reasons hereafter.

MR. MACPHERSON—I cannot assent either to the 1st or the 2nd proposition and shall give my reasons at a future period.

The Secretary accordingly received the following minute from Mr. MacPherson, which he circulated to the other members of the Board.

MR. MACPHERSON—I cannot condemn Mr. Bristow, or any servant, till I am convinced of his delinquency. He has been ill and he may have many and strong arguments to plead for the delay in sending his answers.

As to the proposition for removing the Residency from Oude entirely, and leaving to the Vizier and his Minister the powers which they request, it is a measure of critical magnitude, nor can I consent to it without full security for the Company's interests and the peace of our frontier.

Arrangements to secure both must be maturely and well concerted, and we ought to attend particularly to the change in our situation from the re-establishment of the French in India.

MR. WHELER delivers in the following minute.

31st July 1783.

MR. WHELER—In a minute which I delivered at the Board on the 22nd May, I expressed a wish that we should enter upon an immediate enquiry into the state of the Nabob of Oude's country, for the purpose of determining how far the orders which had been given to Mr. Bristow on his appointment to Oude in September 1782, and which have since produced such serious consequences, are

applicable to the present state of that country, as well as for the further purpose of explaining and amending such parts of those orders, as either from an alteration in circumstances or other causes are no longer considered to be in union with the interests of the Company and the Nabob. Such an enquiry into the state of Oude, and such a revision of the orders in question, I think more expedient and more necessary at this time than when I before recommended it, as the propositions now submitted to the Board by the Governor-General do not only relate to the conduct of the Resident and his Assistant, but involve a great political question respecting the future connection between the Nabob and the East India Company. It appears, therefore, indispensably necessary that we should receive the most complete and satisfactory information on those points which have led the Governor-General to propose so material and important a change in the system which has been laid down and established for the management of the Company's concerns with the Nabob Vizier.

Thus circumstanced, and now possessing information of the consequences to which Mr. Bristow's removal will lead, I must beg leave to observe that as the Resident stands charged by the Nabob and his Minister with the usurpation of an undue authority, and as he is called upon by this Government to answer those charges, it will in my opinion be highly improper to shift the ground of those charges to that of disrespect to this Board for having delayed to reply to them, which I should have conceived was guarded against by his letter to the Board, dated 23rd June, urging as an excuse for not immediately answering them, his confinement to his room from illness, and by a subsequent letter to the Secretary to the same effect.

However ill prepared I may feel myself to decide upon so momentous a question as is now for the first time introduced in the latter part of the Governor-General's minute, I shall not scruple to venture an opinion that if ever there was a period at which withdrawing the influence of the Company from the Nabob of Oude's Court, and leaving both him and his country to the mercy of his Minister was attended with peculiard hazard to the interests of the Company and the Nabob, that period is the present. I cannot therefore, impressed as I am with this belief, and dreading the alarming consequences likely to follow the adoption of such a measure from the present disordered and unsettled state of the Nabob's country, and the unfitness of his Minister to govern it, consent to accept of the proposals now offered by the Nabob for the liquidation of his actual and growing debt to the Company, or to abolish the office of Resident at his Court with that of the Deputy and other subordinate part of the same establishment, excepting the office of Accountant, as recommended in the Governor-General's minute.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—It is not necessary that my opinion should follow, as it is expressed in the term of the question which I have proposed. I shall have something to say upon the subject of Mr. Wheler's minute; probably the minutes of the other members of the Board may require from me a reply; I hope not, but shall reserve what I have further to say upon them as upon the general subject to another occasion.

Resolved that both questions be carried in the negative.

Exd.—B. M.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 39 F. D.—16-5-89.—500.

Proceedings from the Secret Select Committee of the 28th August to 29th September 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 28th August 1783.

Thursday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. WHELER, *absent.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 25th instant.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the triplicate of the letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 19th December, with copy of the letter from the Right Hon'ble T. Townshend to the Chairman and Deputy, dated 3rd December, and a copy of the King's speech. He informs the Board that he received these by the common post from Madras in a cover which appeared to bear the original superscription of the Secret Committee, marked on the outside—"Received from the Ship *York* the 23rd of July 1783," but the fold above one of the seals had been cut open, and he was surprised to find that it contained no letter from the Select Committee at Madras, by whom he supposes it must have been opened, mentioning the circumstances, nor any note accounting for it.

Agreed that this be mentioned to the President and Select Committee at Fort St. George that they may give orders that more care be taken in future.

Mr. Wheler having left the following minute with the Secretary in consequence of reading the General Letter of the 14th February at the last meeting in the Public Department it is now considered:—

General Letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 14th February 1783.

Mr. Wheler's minute.

MR. WHELER—It always has been and always will be my wish to conform implicitly to the orders of the Court of Directors, and I trust that the opinion which I shall give upon that part of the Court's letter which is now before us will not be taken up against its meaning as going to a breach of them. The orders at present under the Board's considerations are entirely provisional.

Nothing has passed since the conclusion of the agreement made by the Governor-General with the Vizier at Chunar, which induces me to alter the opinion which I before held, as well from the Governor-General's reports to this Board, as the opinions which I have heard of many individuals totally unconcerned in the subject, that the Begums at Fyzabad did take a hostile part against the Company during the disturbances in Benares, and I am impressed with a conviction that this conduct of the Begums did not proceed entirely from motives of self-defence; but as the Court of Directors appear to be of a different opinion, and conceive that there ought to be stronger proofs of the defection of the Begums than have been laid before them, I think that before we decide on their order, the late and present Resident at the Vizier's Court and the commanding officers in the Vizier's country ought to be required

to collect and lay before the Board all the information they can obtain with respect to the defection of the Begums during the troubles in Benares and their present disposition to the Company.

The Governor-General desires to record the following minute :—

28th August 1783.

I think that Mr. Wheler has misconcieved the intention of the Court of Directors. I have attentively read the 4th and subsequent paragraphs of the letter of the 14th February, but find no order, expressed or implied, in them which can warrant the enquiry proposed by Mr. Wheler. The Court of Directors is already in possession of complete and legal evidence of the hostile part taken by the Begums of Fyzabad against the Company. I cannot directly object to the proposals for collecting fresh evidence on the same charges, but I must be informed of the object of it before I assent to it. I do therefore object to the question in the terms and state of it.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 4th September 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. WHELER, *absent.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 28th ultimo.

24th August 1783.

Mr. Wheler's minute, 24th August 1783.

MR. WHELER—The opinions which it has been necessary for me to give at various times on the subject of the complaints made against Mr. Bristow by the Nabob Vizier and his Minister, and on the motions and propositions of the Governor-General grounded on them, have relieved me from the necessity of going through every stage of the business at this time. I shall therefore confine my attention solely to this consideration whether the charges as they are drawn up against Mr. Bristow and answered by him are fully proved and established, and briefly state my sentiments of his public conduct as they arise from the materials before me.

I must first premise that the charges are of such a nature as to render it almost impossible for the Resident to disprove them by any certain and positive evidence, because they chiefly consist of deductions from asserted facts which do not appear in some instance correctly stated; besides, I conceive it is as necessary and just that the affirmation of Mr. Bristow's criminality should be proved by the person who imputes it to him, as it would be cruel and unjust to admit of his having cleared himself from them only in the event of his proving a negative to all the bold assertions of the Nabob's Minister, for what man employed in public business could even transact it with credit to himself or advantage to his employers? or would attempt it if charges and accusations, unsupported by evidence and dictated by parties interested in his removal from his station, should be allowed to have weight with those who are the judges of his conduct, and by whose judgment he must be supported or fall.

From the general character of Hyder Beg Khan, and the known influence he has long possessed over the Nabob's mind, which has led to an uncontrolled sway over all his dominions, I am inclined to believe that the letters from the Vizier to the Governor-General were principally dictated by his Minister; and this circumstance must induce those who view it in the same light to give less weight and consequence to the representations than they would deserve, if they sprung from a real sense of injuries received from Mr. Bristow, as deeply impressed in His Excellency's mind as they are inculcated in his letters.

It may be difficult for men who feel themselves injured by the misrepresentations of others to confine themselves solely to their own vindication; they are naturally prone to recriminate on their accusers. Mr. Bristow has not been able to refrain from this error in his defence, but I neither approve of it nor of the angry manner in which he speaks to the Board of a person through the medium of whose influence the Company's affairs have been so long conducted at the Nabob's Court, and who is entitled to respect as long as he is deemed worthy of acting in that elevated station.

With respect to the question before us, I am firmly of opinion that the charges against Mr. Bristow are neither proved nor established, and that his conduct ought not to subject him to the censure of the Board; indeed, the principal accusations against him are founded only on his attempt to introduce sundry reforms which have not succeeded—attempts which do not appear to stand in contradiction to the spirit or even letter of his instructions. He has been thwarted and opposed in all by the Minister, and as far as I can collect from the charges and Mr. Bristow's reply, the appointments which are held up as encroachments upon the Nabob's dignity and right of Government are not now existing. It would be therefore highly unjust to condemn, and much more so to remove, the Resident for endeavouring to carry into effect the plan and measures which he was instructed to adopt; he would find greater difficulty in answering the charge if it was inverted, and he stood accused by this Government in not having persevered with greater firmness in the execution of his trust; and if Mr. Bristow is still to be guided by the instructions he received on his appointment, the united weight of the influence of this Government should be exerted to the accomplishment of the plans therein recommended or his instructions should be so altered and modified as to make them more palatable to the Nabob and his Minister, yet such as would effectually secure to the Company its present and future claims on the Vizier's Government; if the latter should meet the concurrence of the Board I could wish that another set of instructions were immediately prepared more conformably to those which have generally been given to Residents upon former occasions.

30th August 1783.

Mr. Stable's minute, 30th August.

MR. STABLES—I have read with attention the papers referred to me in answer to the charges brought against the Resident at Oude by the Nabob Vizier and his Minister Hyder Beg Khan. The charges are not proved to my conviction in any single instance. It appears to me that Mr. Bristow has adhered to the spirit of his instructions, which fully authorized him to carry certain regulations into execution for the benefit of the Vizier and the Company, in attempting which he has been invariably counteracted by Hyder Beg Khan, whose power and influence were effected by the plans proposed.

The Resident has constantly informed the Board of all his transactions and intentions and stated the difficulties which he had to contend against; he has done so particularly in his letter of the 21st January last, which by some mistake was not laid before the Board until three months after the receipt of it by the Secretary, and in his letters of the 13th May and 6th of June, all which are yet unanswered. From the Board's silence to the Resident after the constant information which they had from him, he must have conceived he was warranted in following his instructions and using his endeavours to carry them into complete effect.

After a full review of this business, and having taken all the papers into consideration, I am of opinion that the conduct of the Resident at Lucknow deserves the approbation of the Board, and that he ought to be assisted by the entire weight and influence of this Government to be enabled to execute what is prescribed in his instructions, on a strict adherence to which the peace and safety of the Vizier's country, and the payment of the Company's heavy balances, so much depend.

The Nabob is in my opinion so much in the hands of his Minister, Hyder Beg Khan, who has the entire control of his country, that I consider His Excellency's letters as in fact the letters of Hyder Beg. I consider Hyder Beg as a dangerous man to this Government, and the comparative statement of the revenues of the Vizier's country between the Fuslee years 1183 and 1190, transmitted to us by the Resident, gives me the worst opinion of his management and conduct, and afford but a melancholy prospect with respect to the early payment of the Vizier's present debt, and our current claims on him, which must continue whilst our troops are employed in the defence of his country. To recall the Resident or to abolish his office would be in effect removing every check or restraint on the views and conduct of the Minister. While we are obliged, and as I think unfortunately, to have a large army in the Vizier's dominions for their defence and protection, and while the internal peace and security of his country is so much connected as it is with our own, we surely have a right to interfere for the purpose of correcting the gross abuses and mismanagement of his Government.

3rd September 1783.

Mr. Macpherson's Minute, 3rd September.

On the subject of his, Mr. Bristow's, answer to the complaints of the Vizier and his Minister, Hyder Beg Khan, I shall give my opinion in a few words as it is possible. The affairs of Oude will now become matter of full discussion at the Board.

1stly.—The complaints against Mr. Bristow appear to me to be in a great measure invalidated by their real object which is not the removal of Mr. Bristow alone but that of his nominated successor, Mr. Cooper, and in a word the removal of the Company's Residency entirely from the Court of the Vizier. Hyder Beg Khan's subsequent request (letter from Hyder Beg Khan to the Governor-General, 7th April 1783), to this Government places his views and ambition in a light not to be mistaken.

2ndly.—It is my opinion that Mr. Bristow has fully refuted the accusation advanced against him; and if they had in some degree been established they would lie more against the Board than against Mr. Bristow, who continually advised them of his endeavours to carry his instructions into effect.

3rdly.—I think the opposition which Hyder Beg Khan has (amidst his professions of obedience) made to every effort of the Resident to carry through the instructions of this Government renders him highly responsible for the consequences whatever they have been or may be in future.

4thly.—The late despatches of the Court of Directors on the subject of the Chunar treaty and the resumed jaghirs prove clearly that the Company are determined to keep a Resident at the Vizier's Court, and to confirm his charge of acts of internal management in that Government.

4th February 1783.

The following answer having been prepared to the letter from Madras, recorded in the last Consultation, is now read and approved by the Governor-General and Mr. MacPherson.

To—The Select Committee of Fort St. George.

My Lord and Gentlemen,—We have received your letters of the 5th, 11th, and 15th instant, with the several inclosures contained in them and observe your reiterated demand that we will furnish you with those instructions which

you have so often solicited and the want of which you say leaves you under an embarrassment that may greatly tend to the prejudice of public affairs at this critical juncture.

We acknowledge that you have repeatedly applied to us for authority and instructions to treat with the late Hyder Ally, and his son and successor, Tippoo Saheb.

On the 11th September last you desired to know our sentiments of that state of imminent necessity which might warrant you, in the adoption of measures of your own judgment, without a special authority; and you requested our instructions to guide your conduct towards Hyder Ally in the supposed event of the ratification of the Mahratta treaty, as you proposed sending to him an embassy, and we in reply to that informed you, by our letter of the 19th October, that "Hyder Ally was compelled to solicit peace, or to move for an accommodation from some change in his affairs. We imagined every advance to a negotiation with him was but an encouragement to him to persist in the war." We therefore declined granting you any instructions for that purpose and added that "should he by the aid of his new allies, and through our misfortunes, press "you to a situation of *imminent necessity*, that necessity and your own judgment "must at once determine your last refuge, and dictate your instructions." The Mahratta treaty was at that time not finally interchanged, and it was a matter of a great doubt whether the opposition raised against it might not preclude it altogether. We are confident that any advances made to Tippoo at such a season would have been converted by him into the means of adding force to the opposition which he supported against the treaty. The advantage which he would have been ready to seize of any overture for peace cannot be more strongly exemplified than in the instance now before us. Tippoo, certainly inferior to his father both in forces and abilities, deprived of his European allies by the preliminaries with France, compelled to retire from the Carnatic in order to save or recover the most valuable part of his own possession, the revenues of a considerable part of which have been lost to him, threatened with a war from the Mahrattas and his resources of men, money, stores, and provisions greatly diminished from his long and continued operations in the field, has received the invitation of your deputies to accede to a peace--how has he treated it? and what has been the consequence? Presuming upon our weakness he has assumed a degree of consequence, to which his father never pretended in the height of his prosperity; he has dictated the terms of a treaty, particular articles and objects of which we are unacquainted with, and has left no alternative for a qualified admission of his demands on your part, but requires you implicitly to affix your seals and signatures to them, and informs you that after a meeting has been had, and the karanamma understood by the term of the translation we suppose to be meant concluded, letters will be written from the Punnu to the Governor and Council, a kelaut, &c., will be given, and the English prisoners of the Sircar will be sent with his Minister, and orders to the talukdars to deliver up the forts of the English to them.

Although Tippoo has left nothing for negotiations but the acceptance or rejection of his demands, even for this undignified intercourse with you, he, or his agent for him, required you to depute your Minister to attend the presence of his Minister.

Thus much occurs in proof of the propriety of our determination, on the 19th October last, to withhold from you the power of treating in any shape with this enemy. In your letter of the 18th February 1783 you again desired our "consent and approbation of a treaty to be concluded by you with Tippoo Saheb on the terms of that which has been made respecting his father with the Mahrattas, and you request that we communicate to you our sentiment on the propriety of your waiving so much of the clause relative to his immediate and entire evacuation of the Carnatic as may relate to the small posts and districts of Pudukota and Holipady, or other small posts and districts of little value or importance, but convenient to and bordering upon the dominions of Tippoo Saheb in case a treaty could not otherwise be concluded with him."

With respect to the diminishing epithets applied to these places they have a double edge—"if they are small posts and districts of little value or

importance" they are equally so to both parties, and Tippoo should be as indifferent in requiring, as we in ceding them. If he insist on them, and a treaty could not otherwise be concluded with him, which is the condition on which you desired power to cede them, it proves them not to be districts of little value or importance. But you add as a further motive for our compliance that they are convenient and border upon the dominions of Tippoo Saheb. They can only be convenient because they may facilitate a future invasion. And if they border upon the dominions of Tippoo Saheb, in their present dependence on the Carnatic, they would equally border upon the Carnatic in their dependence, on Tippoo Saheb, and in this state are equally convenient to either, besides if that were an argument for yielding them, it would apply with equal strength after they were ceded to the next small districts of little value or importance and so on *ad infinitum.*

We replied to this letter from you on the 11th March, when the final interchange of the treaty with the Peishwa had recently taken place, we repeated our sentiments with respect to any overtures which might be made to Tippoo for peace, and we desired you "carefully to avoid any infraction of the article of the treaty which relates to the Carnatic, and which constitutes the peace with Tippoo Saheb on the only footing on which we are now at liberty to accede to it." Both these letters expressed our entire and marked disapprobation of your commencing by advances on your part any negotiation with Hyder Ally or his successor, Tippoo Saheb. If the ill-disposition towards you, of which you have repeatedly accused us in your letters, or the irritating style of your correspondence, could influence us to your prejudice, the unwarrantable and disgraceful management of your late negotiation opens an ample field for censure and reproach. To propose a cessation of hostilities to Tippoo Saheb, in conjunction with or through the medium of Mr. Bussy, was at once both impolitic and disgraceful, nor could it be supposed to be enjoined by the preliminary treaty with France, by the 16th Article of which it rested with M. Bussy *only* to have invited Tippoo, as the ally of France, to accede to the pacification. An invitation such as you offered could neither have been expected or favourably received from the power immediately at war with him, but by condescending to make it you naturally throw the negotiation into the hands of M. Bussy, who will raise his own importance by dictating to Tippoo the terms he should demand from you, and by making himself umpire between you. Here we beg leave to remind you of the caution we gave you in our letter of the 11th March last, written before M. Bussy's arrival in the Carnatic, and expressed in the following sentence—"We request you to consider the use to which M. Bussy might turn your instructions to the Tanjore Vakeel (deputed to Tippoo) if Tippoo Saheb made them known to him, which would probably be the case."

Had Tippoo been in expectation of speedily reducing Mangalore when your proposal for a cessation of hostilities reached him, is it probable that he would have suspended his operations against it? But distant as that event may be, it does not appear that he has suspended his operations or even agreed to a cessation of arms in any place but where the inferiority of his force must have yielded to our arms, we mean in the Carnatic, yet from this partial agreement we venture to pronounce that he will expect an unbounded observance of your request for pacific measures to the Company's settlements on the Malabar Coast, and vehemently complain of any succours of men or stores which may be thrown into Mangalore. Your Commander-in-Chief's minute on this subject contains many sound and corroborating arguments, which, if we wanted any other, would confirm us in these sentiments.

Although you have compelled us to take this view of your conduct, we will suppose that a negotiation has taken place with Tippoo Saheb in consequence of your overtures to him, and that he is willing to accede to a pacification on the basis of the Mahratta treaty, and in conformity to the preliminaries settled with France; or even if he should absolutely refuse to accede to the peace on these terms, by ceding to him the forts and countries of Carrour Dindigul, Auracouchey, and Daraporam, in the Coimbatore country, and the province of Cumbam, which have all been taken by your forces, you can

obtain the release of our prisoners who are in his hands, we shall think it a most desirable accommodation. Indeed, while the sufferings of our fellow-subjects in his possession are so severe as they are represented to be, we would willingly make those and even greater sacrifices to preserve their lives and recover their liberties, for although the places we have named are numerous, and of lofty sound, we believe them to be of no material value, and such as a superior force may at any time enter and recover.

But you desire a more general authority from us, that is, you require our consent to treat with Tippoo on the basis of the Mahratta treaty, and the pacification which has lately taken place in Europe. By both these authorities peace is already formally concluded with Tippoo, if he will accept of peace, and by the former the Peiswha is bound to compel him to it if he shall refuse, therefore we cannot consent to any direct and independent treaty with Tippoo, nor to any conclusive agreement whatsoever which you may make with him, except for a cessation of hostilities in the accommodation recommended in the preceding paragraph, neither of which requires a written instrument to effect them. In the present situation of affairs there can be no danger in the delay of referring to us his proposals; there may be an advantage in it.

Respecting your claim on Tippoo for a reimbursement of the expences of the war, and a compensation for the losses sustained by the invasion of the Carnatic, we can only express our astonishment at your making it the subject of a serious proposal and of serious reproach to us for omitting it in our treaty with the Mahrattas; but in short, had it been ever practicable, your mode of proceedings would have effectually defeated every chance of obtaining it. To solicit peace in order to claim a reimbursement for the expences of the war is a new doctrine in negociation which will not answer in India, and we doubt of its efficacy in any country.

From the purport of this letter you will clearly understand that we positively restrict you from making any separate or definitive arrangements or treaty with Tippoo Saheb, and that we mean only to vest you with powers to treat for a cessation of hostilities or for the release of our prisoners, or both. It is not necessary for us to negotiate for more general objects, as you have already commenced a negociation with him without waiting for our previous sanction, which you guardedly assure us was unnecessary; and as we have remarked in the former part of this letter you have gone further: you have yourselves invited Tippoo Saheb to accede to the peace concluded in Europe, instead of leaving this advance, where it ought to have been left, and where the wisdom which dictated to the superior Administration, this provision of the treaty had fixed it, with the representative of the French nation in India. And you have proceeded to yet greater lengths. You have yourselves ordered what we conceive ought only to have been the effects of a reciprocal engagement, a cessation of hostilities on the part of our forces, while those of the enemy remain in liberty to continue their operations against us. For these acts and their consequences you are alone accountable.

We have only again to repeat that we will not consent to your making any direct treaty of peace with Tippoo Saheb, that being already concluded on other grounds, and other sanctions of much stronger and surer alliance which we cannot agree to forfeit for an immediate engagement with Tippoo himself, that is, one which will be irrecoverably binding on the Company, but no longer binding on him than whilst he shall find it convenient to observe it.

We request that you will furnish us with early and constant information of the event and progress of your transactions with Tippoo Saheb, that we may also take such measures as may appear necessary to us to avert the consequences of his refusal to accede to the peace.

We are with esteem, &c., &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 30th August 1783.

Mr. Stables' minute, 4th September.

MR. STABLES—I think that the President and Select Committee of Madras should have powers to receive Tippoo's proposals and to treat with him on the ground of the 9th Article of the Mahratta treaty, but not to conclude without making a reference to this Government and receiving our answer to it. I delivered a similar opinion, which is entered on our proceedings of the 15th of last March. It must not be conceived that I approve of the means taken by the gentlemen at Madras to treat with Tippoo, through M. Bussy. I condemn it in the strongest terms.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 22nd September 1783.

Monday AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. WHELER, *absent.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 15th instant.

The following minute having been received from MR. STABLES the 18th instant is now recorded:—

9th September 1783.

Mr. Stables' minute relative to the Begums of Fyzabad, 18th September.

The Court of Directors, by their letter of the 14th February 1783, seem not to be satisfied that the disaffection of the Begums to this Government is sufficiently proved by the evidence before them.

I therefore think that the late and present Resident and commanding officers in the Vizier's country at the time should be called upon to collect what further information they can on this subject, in which the honor and dignity of this Government is so materially concerned, that such information may be immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors.

In the enquiry proposed to be made I wish it particularly to be attended to, whether any hostile intention or mark of disaffection to this Government in the conduct of the Begums appeared before the troubles at Benares.

I think the Resident at the Vizier's Court should be called upon to give information to the Board whether the accounts of the Begums' jaghirs has been paid to them, and by what channel the payment has been made.

The Governor-General desires that the paragraphs of the letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th February 1783, to which Mr. Stables alludes in his minute, may be entered in this place, because it does not appear to him that the Court of Directors had directed any enquiry to be made such as is now proposed, that it appears to him both too late and unnecessary at this time to renew it, as very strong and authenticated evidence of the disaffection of the Begums has been collected and transmitted to the Court of Directors, and as the reasons assigned by the Court of Directors, if these shall be transmitted with the orders for the enquiry, will prove in their effect an order collecting evidence to the justification and acquittal of the Begums not for the investigation of the truth of the charges which have been preferred against them.

The Governor-General thinks it unnecessary to make any other comment upon the motion or to give either his assent or dissent to it but as the letter may be implied in the preceding observations. If evidence is to be collected it should be collected from all persons capable of giving it, and not confined to official

Extract of a General Letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, dated 14th February 1783.

Para. 6.—With respect to the resumption of the jaghirs possessed by the Begums in particular, and the subsequent seizures of the treasure deposited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor-General in his letter to your Board, 23rd January 1783, has declared he strenuously encouraged and supported. We hope and trust, for the honor of the British nation, that the measures appeared to be fully justified in the eyes of all Hindustan. The Governor-General has informed us that it can be well attested that the Begums principally excited and supported the late commotions, and that they carried their inveteracy to the English nation so far as to aim at our utter extirpation.

9. If therefore the disaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which these subsequent transactions must have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only consolation we feel upon this occasion is that the amount of those jaghirs for which the Company were guarantees is to be paid through our Resident at the Court of the Vizier, and it very materially concerns the credit of your Government on no account to suffer such payment to be evaded.

10. If it shall hereafter be found that the Begums did not take that hostile part against the Company which has been represented (as well in the Governor-General's narrative as in several documents therein referred to), and as it nowhere appears from the papers at present in our possession that they excited any commotion previous to the imprisonment of Raja Cheyt Sing but only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction, and as it is probable that such a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of self-defence, under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions, we direct that you use your influence with the Vizier that their jaghirs may be restored to them; but if they should be under apprehensions respecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wish our future protection, it is our pleasure that you offer those ladies an asylum within the Company's territories, and there be paid the amount of the net collection of their jaghirs agreeably to the 2nd article of the late treaty through the medium of our Resident as may be ascertained upon an average estimate of some years back.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 29th September 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

EDWARD WHELER, Esq., *absent up the country.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 22nd instant.

The Governor-General delivers in the follow minute containing his observation in Mr. Bristows letter and defence:—

I have now gone through the examination of the charges against Mr. Bristow and his answers to them according to the order in which he has himself arranged them. I shall not attempt by any recapitulation of them to point out the strength of the former or the insufficiency of the latter. I shall leave both to make their own impression, and doubt not that they will necessarily produce in the minds of others a conviction which they have produced in my own, that the truth of every charge against Mr. Bristow is either positively or presumptively established even by the authorities which he has himself produced to refute them.

I myself am personally aggrieved by Mr. Bristow's conduct and pretensions. Every accumulation of his guilt is doubled by the attempt to fix the original charge of it upon me. In his declaration to the Nabob Vizier, to the Minister, and even in his addresses to the Board, he appeals to my instructions as the rule and warrant of his actions. To disprove this I need only to appeal to my instructions themselves. These had one essential object,

the discharge of the arrears due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company with his growing debt; and every article of them had a regard either to the means of rendering this point effectual, or to the cautions requisite in the exercise of an unavowed influence in the place of a lawful authority. The means by which our Government acquired their influence and its right to exercise it will require a previous explanation. Both originated in our connection with the Nabob Shuja Dowla. I found him a dependent on the Company, or rather on the Commander-in-Chief of the army. Under the authority of the Council, of which I was the President in the year 1773, I concluded a treaty with him which left him optionally free but virtually dependent on our Government by the reciprocal obligations of it, which on our part consisted in military assistance whenever he demanded it, and on his, the payment of a fixed monthly subsidy for the expences attending it. He remained the absolute sovereign of his own dominions, and whenever he found the presence of our army, or the ascendant of our alliance too powerful for his ease or dignity, he might free himself from both by the dismission of the former. But the necessity of his affairs rendered it unsafe or inconvenient to part with it, as was evinced by the experiment of a few months in which the army was remanded to our frontiers, and again recalled for his service, and thus its attachment to him, and the kind of tribute which he paid for the use of it, were rendered permanent, but in such a mode as conduced to his interest and safety without a diminution of personal consequence. He was himself the instrument of forming this relation; he felt the advantages of it; he experienced nothing humiliating in the superiority of the part assigned to our Government in it, and in the short interval which followed the construction of it two rich and extensive members were added to his paternal dominions, besides that which he acquired with it. Let me add, without the imputation of assuming too much self-consequence, that my personal behaviour to him was invariably marked by a studied respect. In public I addressed him as my acknowledged superior; in private, for only one person was ever privy to our conferences, I made my demands in firm but decent language, exacted his compliance by stating the grounds of our mutual necessities without either concealment or exaggeration, and obtained with his cheerful and most willing concession the best accession of a new dominion, a portion of the wealth of a valuable and remote territory without the burthen of its administration. He parted from me contented, and if I may trust to those assurances which my station may be suspected to have extorted from private adulation, he publickly and frequently acknowledged the obligation which he owed to me, and even in his last moments recurred to them in the line of conduct which he recommended to his son and successor, the present Nabob Ausuf-ul-Dowla.

With his death a new political system commenced, and Mr. Bristow was constituted the instrument of its formation and trustee for the management of it. The Nabob Ausuf-ul-Dowla was deprived of a large portion of his inheritance, I mean the province of Benares, attached by a very feeble and precarious tenure to our dominions; the army fixed to a permanent station in a remote line of his frontier, with an augmented and perpetual subsidy, a new army amphibiously composed of troops in his service and pay, commanded by English officers of our own nomination for the defence of his new conquests, and his own national troops annihilated or alienated by the insufficiency of his revenue for all his disbursements, and the prior claims of those which our authority or influence commanded in a word he became the vassal of this Government. But he still possessed an ostensible sovereignty. His titular rank of Vizier of the empire rendered him a conspicuous object of view to all the States and Chiefs of India, and on the moderation and justice with which the British Government in Bengal exercised its influence over him, many points most essential to its political strength, and to the honor of the British name depended.

This is not a place, nor have I room in it to prove, what I shall here content myself with affirming, that by a sacred and undeviating observance of every principle of public faith, the British dominion might have by this time acquired the means of its extension, through a virtual submission to it sauthority, to every region of Hindustan and Deccan. I am not sure that I should advise such a design were it practicable, which at this time it certainly is not

and I very much fear that the limited formation of such equal alliances as might be useful to our present condition and conduce to its improvement is become liable to almost insurmountable difficulties. Every power in India must wish for the support of ours; but they all dread the connection.

The subjection of Bengal and the deprivation of the family of Jaffer Ally Khan, though an effect of inevitable necessity, the present usurpation of the rights of the Nabob Walah Jan in the Carnatic, and the licentious violations of the treaty existing between the Company and the Nabob Nizam-ud-Dowla, though checked by the remedied interposition of this Government, stand as terrible precedents against us. The effects of our connection with the Nabob Ausuf-ul-Dowla had a rapid tendency to the same consequences, and it has been my invariable study to prevent it by the removal or restriction of every authority or influence derived from our Government which interfered with his, and by the promise of whatever means I might possess for withdrawing that interposition of it in the internal management of his affairs, which we exercised in the assignments made of portion of his revenue for the payment of the Company's debts whenever he should have discharged them, or could afford a security of their payment. It is not unknown to the members of the Board who composed it in the beginning of the year 1781 how much it was my wish even then to return on a new commission to the residence of the Nabob of Oude, provided I could be entrusted with powers to make such an accommodation; for his finances were daily diminishing, the presence of the representative of our Government enfeebled, that of the Nabob in its executive acts, and all the provinces of his dominion were gradually sinking into decline, the reproach of which even from our own countrymen was cast upon our Government as the cause of it.

Unfortunately the Nabob Vizier wanted the requisite talents for business. His understanding, though far underrated in the common opinion of it, was deficient in many other requisite qualities of government. But it was united with a gentleness of manners, a susceptibility of kindness, and a pliancy of will which might in proper hands constitute an equivalent to them. It was in my reliance on the effect of these qualities that I solicited, and in effect obtained from him in return for my concessions, his agreement to the admission of the assistance of the Resident in the charge then specially given to his Minister, of his finances and public disbursements.

Dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Middleton, the Resident, to whom this charge was first committed, and of his Deputy, Mr. Johnson, to whom he delegates it, I formed the resolution of nominating Mr. Bristow to it in their stead. To this I had various and powerful inducements. The first and principal was the reiterated order of the Court of Directors for his appointment; secondly, the wish of the other members of the Council urging it; thirdly, their declaration of uniting to support my authority, and other concurrent circumstances removing the objections which had hitherto opposed it; fourthly, a reliance on the personal gratitude of Mr. Bristow for my optional nomination of him to so important a trust; and fifthly, his assurances and a pledge given me for the performance of them in which I then reposed a religious confidence. I proposed and the Board agreed to his appointment, leaving it to me to give him his instructions. These were accordingly delivered, first verbally, but accompanied with heads in writing for his remembrance, in a discourse which occupied four hours of my time, when I was yet too ill to write, and they were afterwards dictated, for I continued unable to write them; and having received the approbation of the Board, they were transmitted to him on the 24th of October. I have detailed the process of this affair to shew at least the improbability of Mr. Bristow's misunderstanding my intentions respecting the line of conduct which he was to pursue, if these were really contrary to that which he did adopt. Hitherto the Resident has never interfered beyond advice and persuasion. I myself never effected a higher claim, nor had I a suspicion that Mr. Bristow would go beyond it. It therefore never occurred to me to guard against it. On the contrary I will freely confess, and I am ashamed of it, I yielded to him an implicit confidence. As to my instructions and their real objects, I affirm that they have been wholly neglected, nor has any use been made of them but to pervert them to

designs of which I know not the authority, nor can devise any other end but private rapacity. In one instance, indeed, he may appear to conform to them which is in his disagreements with the Minister, which whose conduct I was certainly much offended on the occasions which had afforded me so much offence against Mr. Middleton, and I therefore warned him to keep a watchful eye on Hyder Beg Khan, and I spoke of him in terms which marked great distrust of his principles and dislike of his character. Whether I was right or wrong in my judgment, I will not now attempt to determine. I certainly erred in the unreserved manner in which I communicated it, since it has been so frequently and powerfully retorted upon me. But Hyder Beg Khan is not the object of this discussion. Let his former conduct have been what it would, it will not justify Mr. Bristow in acts done consequent to it, and independent of it. Let his present conduct be what it will, it will not warrant Mr. Bristow's usurpation of an authority which was never entrusted to him, and in the commission of insults and indignities to a Sovereign Prince united by treaty to the Company and to the British nation. There is not a syllable of my instructions which will admit of a construction of a power to assume any authority whatever in the administration of the Nabob Vizier. The only passage which I find in a recent search to bear anything like a tendency to it is the close of the 13th Article, in which, speaking of the dangerous abuse which the Begums had made of their jaghirs, I directed him to remonstrate in the strongest terms against their restoration, and I added that he "must not *permit it* until this Government shall have information of it," but how far even this expression was from conveying the idea of his exercising an authority over the Nabob will be demonstrated by the expressed purpose of the communication in the words immediately following, *viz.*, "and shall have had time to *interpose its influence* for the preservation of it." This extract will shew that in a case which I deemed of the utmost consequence to the safety of the Nabob's dominions and of our political interests in this instance, more nearly than any other connected with it, I did not conceive that even the Governor-General and Council in their collective capacity had a right to interfere with authority, but could only make use of the means of persuasion, or as it expressed to "interpose their influence for preventing the evils which we supposed"; and can it be believed that I should invest Mr. Bristow with powers of which I disavowed the use myself and denied the exercise of them to the administration of which I was the first member?

The article respecting the Nabob Vizier begins with an injunction "to study on every occasion to conciliate his good-will, and to shew him every ostensible and external mark of respect." I expressed my "hope that he would not find it difficult to make the Nabob himself the mover of every act necessary, whether for the advancement of his own interests, or the discharge of his debt to the Company." I recommended to him to endeavour to wean the Nabob's confidence from Hyder Beg Khan, and I remember using this or a very like expression in my verbal instructions—"Be you his Minister, and make yourselves his advocate and the vindicator of his rights if his present Minister shall injure them," and I strictly enjoined a preference of the Nabob's claims to the sum allotted to his personal expenses before any other, little imagining that this clause would be perverted to a virtual but effectual deprivation of the use of it.

The advice which I thus pointedly recommended to Mr. Bristow was such as I should have pursued myself had I been in his situation, and with a well-grounded expectation of succeeding in attaining the prescribed object of it; for I have myself experienced what might be effected by conciliation in situations the same as his, and in others as dissimilar from it, and on minds more difficult than the weak spirit of the Nabob Ausuf-ul-Dowla; for I never found either the acute apprehensions and quiet susceptibility of Meer Cassim, nor the pride and manly sense of the Nabob Shujah Dowla impenetrable to arguments applied to their interests, and delivered with truth and plain dealing, which were all the acts I ever used in my political negotiations.

But I have a further proof, and an unanswerable one, that I neither had nor could have had any design in my commission given to Mr. Bristow, either hostile to the Nabob Vizier, or offensive to his feelings, without such a profligacy of character as must have been marked by the whole tenor of my life accord-

ing with it. When I mentioned to Mr. Bristow my intention of appointing him to the Residency of Lucknow, I at the same time informed him that I could not yet effect it until I had an assurance that it would be acceptable to the Nabob Vizier, not knowing whether from former transactions the Nabob might not have a personal exception to him, and I therefore directed him to apply by letter to the Nabob himself for his consent. Mr. Bristow did write to him accordingly. I also caused Raja Govind Ram, the Nabob's Vakeel, to apprize his master that the application was made with my knowledge and with my wish that it might prove effectual, if the Nabob had not the objection which I had apprehended. And lest he might be induced by his remembrance of the interest by which Mr. Bristow's former appointment had been before made, to object to it on a principle of delicacy to myself, I desired Raja Govind Ram to assure him that Mr. Bristow should receive his appointment from my own choice, not by the imposition of any authority contrary to it. But I abstained from any direct communication of these sentiments, that the Nabob might be freer in his decision upon the proposition submitted to him. I have already alluded to this transaction in a minute dated the 7th of March 1783, and dictated on a different occasion, and with other particulars which are here omitted. Mr. Bristow will not deny the fact as I have related it, and Mr. MacPherson will possibly recollect it.

Is it possible that I could have used so much delicacy and affected such a tenderness towards the Nabob if I meant to send a tyrant to rule over him.

I shall forbear to speak my apprehensions of the consequences if it shall be finally resolved by the Members of this Board that Mr. Bristow shall be formally vested with the power of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Ausuf-ul-Dowla, and guaranteed to him against all invaders by a sacred treaty by which the faith and honor of the British nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it. A system of such controul cannot subsist on constructive power, and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Bristow the declaration which I have made of the revocation of those which he received from me, and which he has grossly abused, I shall, and at his peril, let him dare hereafter to quote them as containing the authority for his actions. Those who abet him in his conduct ought to prescribe to him the rule of it. When I am made acquainted with that rule I will record my opinion of it. Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful consequences which, however, qualified, must attend the exercise of any dominion built on such a foundation and committed to such a ruler.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 40 F. D.—9-4-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Committee from 6th October to 10th November 1783.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 6th October 1783.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. WHELER, *absent up the Country.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 29th ultimo.

From the King, received 10th September 1783.

Usual introduction.

May our fortunate son be ever prosperous and overshadowed by the protection of Almighty God. The erzdasht of (you) our fortunate son, the most excellent of our exalted Umrahs, has passed the immaculate presence, the representation of devotion and attachment which you have therein exhibited have proved the sources of pleasure and satisfaction to our Royal mind.

You have set forth that delays have hitherto occurred in making your representations to the throne, in consequence of the multiplicity of affairs dependent on the present situation of the kingdom of Deccan and the European war, but that such delays shall not again intervene; you, our fortunate son, have represented your satisfaction also on information that your letter to our beloved son, Mudjud-ud-Dowla, transmitted through Major Browne, has been laid before the throne, and that the contents thereof has met with our Royal approbation.

Be it known to you, our noble and fortunate son, that your attachment and fidelity, your sagacity, knowledge, and abilities, are now so fully evinced and proved that no further evidence is wanting to their confirmation; and we ourselves are fully convinced that you will not fail us at any period or on any occasion. The letter which you wrote to our beloved son we consider as written to ourselves, and you will esteem whatever he shall write to you as written by our command. We now esteem you as the offspring of this Royal House, and therefore have in this our shoccah honored you with the title of our noble and fortunate son; it is meet that you pay the tribute of thanks and gratitude in return for this intance of our Royal favor, and henceforth be attentive to the due performance of all filial duties.

You have further represented in the before mentioned erzdasht that you have experienced much anxiety and concern on account of the delays which have occurred in the arrival of Major Browne at the presence, but that he will now in a short time obtain the happiness of being presented to our august Majesty, and will thenceforward transmit to you all our commands; that as you are most faithfully determined to promote our Royal pleasure, and to prove the sincerity of your attachment, you therefore hope that the commands which shall be issued from the throne may be such as will come within the sphere of your ability to execute, in which event there shall never be any failure or deficiency on your part.

It is necessary that you, our fortunate son, do accelerate the arrival of Major Browne at our illumined presence. Your affection and attachment have

impressed themselves deeply on our hearts, and we positively and assuredly know that Major Browne on the day on which he shall obtain the honours of audience will transmit to you ample proofs of our Royal favor concerning your solicitude that these things which we shall command may be such as will correspond with your ability. Son of our House. Hitherto we have issued no commands, and now we have adopted you into the number of our children, it must remain with you spontaneously to discharge the duties of filial piety.

The first proof of affectionate attachment will be displayed in your exertions for the restoration of our imperial affairs, and in the arrangement and improvement of the Royal finances.

From the communications of our beloved son Mudjud-ud-Dowlah, who is with his fortune and his life the devoted servant of the presence, and for these twelve years past has proved your firm friend and well-wisher, our pleasure will be more fully made known to you. You must inform our beloved son what commands have ever been issued from the throne in the execution of which your hand has fallen short of your inclination. If recommendations have been forced from the presence by importunity to such you are to pay no regard, but be convinced that we are in our favour at all times solicitious to promote your satisfaction.

From MUDJUD-UD-DOWLAH, received 10th September 1783.

Usual introduction.

The substance of the letter to the same purport as the King's shoccah with the following addition :—

"His Majesty considers you as his son, and has honoured you with that title in the accompanying shoccah. He has honoured me with the office of acting Minister in the affairs of this empire, and by so doing has in fact conferred the powers of that office upon you ; inasmuch as I consider myself your deputy and such I have considered myself for these twelve years past and such I shall continue to be whilst I live, how then will it be possible for any commands to be issued from the throne disagreeable to you? Such is my friendship that notwithstanding my total want of support and necessary means, I have overlooked lakhs, and rejected the proposals of the French. You will recollect that my means were cut off and my military strength broken by the late Nabob (Nudjuf Cawn). I am now alone and without resources in the presence. Yet though such is my situation I prevent as far as in my power the execution of such measures as I know to be incompatible with your satisfaction.

For this month past sunnuds for the Subahdarree of Arcot have been solicited in favour of the son of Hyder Naig, and lakhs have been offered as a nuzurana. By various means I have prevented their being complied with.

Now that the neabut of the Vizzarut appertains to me, I am in fact the Naib here on your part, and on the part of the Nabob Vizier, and without doubt you will both consider it as incumbent on you to support and protect me and my honour, but writing is superfluous. I suspend everything until the arrival of Major Browne. He will see everything with his own eyes, and he will communicate the whole to you, together with the proofs of my friendship and devotedness to the service of you and the Nabob Vizier. God send that he may arrive speedily, and that you yourself may hereafter come to the presence.

Concludes as usual.

From the King and written with his own hand, received 3rd October 1783.

Usual introduction.

May our fortunate son be ever and prosperous and overshadowed by the protection of Almighty God.

The perfect and steadfast attachment of you, our fortunate son, is impressed on our Royal mind, and we esteem you our faithful and undoubted well-wisher,

We therefore inform you that the late Zulfikar-ud-Dowlah Nudjuf Cawn Bahadur considered our faithful and exalted amongst our subjects, Ashruff-ud-dowla Afranseaub Cawn as a beloved son; that at an early period of his last sickness he brought him to the presence and placed his hand in ours; that he made him the successor to his honours and station, and obtained for him from the presence the usual marks of the Royal favour.

After the death of Nudjuf Cawn, our chosen subject, Afranseaub Cawn, from a due regard to certain circumstances, withdrew himself from public affairs, and men disloyal, unfitting, and every way unworthy have possessed themselves of the entire management of the affairs of our State.

As Afranseaub Cawn is with his life and fortune entirely devoted to our service, as we ourselves are disposed to favour and support him, and as all the military commanders of the late Nudjuf Cawn are firmly united with him, it is therefore necessary that you, our fortunate son, do also consider him as your friend and well-wisher and determine on such measures, in conjunction with him, as may give prosperity to the affairs of our Government, and strength and splendour to our empire.

Concludes as usual.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—As I now see no reason why the instructions given to Major Browne should be any longer withheld from the records, with the Board's permission I will send them to the Secretary to be entered. His appointment was noted on on the records in Consultation 3rd March last.

FORT WILLIAM,

The 20th August 1782.

TO MAJOR JAMES BROWNE.

SIR,—Having judged it expedient at this time to have a Minister at the Court of Delhi on the part of the Government, and being desirous to avoid the *eclat* of a public appointment and every other circumstance attending it, which might make it appear to have been suggested by any interest or necessity of our affairs, or tend to change the relation in which the Company has hitherto been considered in all their concerns with the King, as the supporter of his dignity, not a solicitor for his influence, I do therefore by my own separate authority, but with the knowledge of the other members of the Board, appoint you to be my own Agent and the Minister of this Government at the Court of Delhi, and give you the following instructions for your guidance:—

1st.—You will proceed directly to Lucknow, carefully concealing the knowledge of your appointment until your arrival there. You will receive a letter to the Resident requiring him to give you an introduction to the Nabob, and another for the Nabob, notifying to him your appointment, and the objects of it, with a reference to him for such instructions as he shall think proper to give you. This you will deliver to him with your own hands, and lose no time in waiting on him for that purpose. After your arrival you will inform him that having maturely considered the letters which he has lately written to me respecting the administration of the King's affairs, I have judged it most advisable, both from its conformity to his wishes, and to the mutual relation of his Government with ours, that whatsoever measures may become necessary, whether for the retrieval of the King's affairs, or for the ostensible appearance of our disposition to support his dignity on an occasion so peculiarly requiring it, these should appear to be our united acts, in which it is my desire rather to second and assist his views than to be the principal or leader in any plan that may be undertaken. I have therefore directed you to wait upon him for the purpose of receiving his commands and instructions to receive and execute them as my own, and immediately to take your leave. You must inform the

Vizier that your orders are to stay no longer at Lucknow than shall be neciessary for this purpose, and, therefore, request his speedy answer and your own dismission, which having received you will repair to Furruckabad or wheresoever shall be most covenient to you, and wait till you shall receive the King's permission to proceed to his presence.

2ndly.—I shall deliver to you two letters addressed to the King, one briefly notifying your commission, the other expressing the purport of it. The first you will despatch with a letter from yourself from Benares or from any other part of the direct road to Delhi; the other you will keep to deliver with your own hands. On the receipt of his answer, if it shall contain an acquiescence in your commission, and an invitation to proceed, you will proceed of course; if he shall decline it (which I mention only as a possible event requiring a provision to be made for it) you will of course return to Calcutta, the purposes of your commission being thereby wholly precluded.

3rdly.—On your arrival at the presence you will deliver my second letter with the presents which you will take with you for that purpose; you will inform His Majesty that in the course of the last year several persons came to me professing themselves to be deputed by him; but as none of them brought such credentials as were proper to ascertain that they came by his authority, I could not enter into that free communication with them which I could have wished; that in the visit which I afterwards made to Benares, it was my intention, and one of the objects of it, to have sought an opportunity to offer my respects in person to His Majesty, but was prevented by causes which are well known to him. These occupying the whole time I had to spare of my absence from Calcutta, I returned of course with my first wish unaccomplished. That the Nabob Vizier has lately written to me several letters representing that His Majesty's affairs had fallen into much disorder by the death of Nudjuf Cawn, a misfortune which on His Majesty's account I very sincerely lament, and that it was His Majesty's earnest desire that the Nabob Vizier and the English should at this time stand forth and exert themselves in discharging the duties of attachment and fidelity to his service. That in conformity to this representation, and in compliance with His Majesty's wishes so imparted, I have deputed you to attend his person, having first seen the Nabob Vizier for the purpose of enquiring and knowing from time to time what he should judge necessary for His Majesty's service, and with orders to communicate the same and recommend them to His Majesty's consideration. That being myself acquainted only with the general state of his affairs, and it being impossible to know what variation they may have undergone at the time of your arrival in his presence, I have not ventured to give you any specific instructions, but simply to assure the King of the attachment of the Company, my principal to his person and interests; and my wish and the united wishes of the members of this Administration to be able to afford him such substantial proofs of it as the state of our affairs will admit, that for this purpose you have my orders either to remain at his Court, and wait for such instructions as you shall further receive from me when I shall have been better informed of His Majesty's pleasure from your first report, or to return with his commands as he shall think proper. You will be careful to guard against any misconstruction of my design in this commission by taking an occasion to declare, and in the most positive terms, that I have no object to solicit and to promote with relation to the interest of the Company's excepting as they may be connected with his; that my sole objects are to manifest to the world at this particular time the attachment of the Company and of the English nation to promote his interests, and to know in what manner they may effect it.

4thly.—For the reasons assigned in the preceding article I cannot give you any definitive instruction. Hitherto we know nothing of the political state of the Court, but from foreign and suspected channels. Your first care must be to collect the materials of a more complete and authentic knowledge. You must study the character, connection, influence, and power of the several competitors for the possession of the King's favor, or the exercise of his authority, the state, views, and relations of the independent Chiefs and States whose territories border on his.

5thly.—I shall deliver you a letter for the sister of the deceased Nabob Nudjuf Cawn, which you will deliver with professions on my part of sorrow and condolence for the death of her brother, with whom I have constantly maintained an intercourse of friendship on account of the attachment which he had always manifested to my employers. With respect to any further intercourse with the family of Nudjuf Cawn you will consult your own discretion and the necessary caution of avoiding whatever may furnish occasion for jealousy to that interest, whatever it may be, which shall be established in the direction of the King's affairs. If the Nabob shall recommend M. Shuffie Cawn or any other person whose character may qualify him for a succession to the offices held by Nudjuf Cawn, you will, according to the promise made to the Vizier, second the recommendation in my name, and if you shall find the King inclined to it, but not otherwise, it will be proper to urge and support it. Take no part in any other competition, and studiously avoid the appearance of having any.

6thly.—It is possible the King may recur to his ancient claims to the tribute of Bengal, and to the re-possession of Korah, Karrah, and Illahabad. The discussion of these pretentions must be unpleasant, and should therefore if possible be avoided since it is not in my power to grant either one or the other. If you find it unavoidable, the following are the grounds on which to justify the refusal of both. While the English possessed the benefit of the King's revenues, and of the influence which was attached to it, they were not deficient in the duties of attachment, but adhered to him with a constancy of which they had no example in any of his own natural subjects, and he derived from the Province of Bengal alone the portion of the tribute which was due from all the members of his empire. Incited by the same principle, they caused the districts of Korah, Karrah, and Illahabad to be ceded for his use, but when he separated himself from them and put himself into the hands of a power which was hostile to their ally, the Nabob Shuja-ul-Dowlah, and dangerous to their interest, and had actually transferred to it the possession of those districts, this Government was remediless. The Provinces of Bengal being deprived of his protection became oppressed with new difficulties and exigencies, which require an application of all its resources for their relief. When they lost the benefit of his protection they were at the same time disabled of the means and discharged from the obligation of continuing the payment of his tribute; and by the resumption of the districts of Korah, Karrah, and Illahabad; they only rendered abortive the effects of the compulsion which his dignity had suffered, but did nothing inconsistent with their own acts considered with the motives on which they were grounded, but rather confirmed the first grant by putting them into the hands of his first constitutional servant.

At this time the revenue of Bengal is insufficient to support the many domestic and foreign expences with which it is loaded, and the Government is under the necessity of employing the original resources and credit of the Company in aid of the deficiency. To pay the tribute would be impossible, nor without the commands of the Company have we the power to allow it; and the districts of Korah, Karrah, and Illahabad are no longer in our possession having been assigned to the Vizier under the faith and obligation of the treaty.

These are the arguments by which you might reply to such claims, but I would rather avoid the discussion.

7thly.—If the King should desire a military force to be sent to his aid or for his protection you will require to know the service on which it is to be employed, and the resources from which it is to be paid. Perhaps this may be best and most readily effected by the dismission of the corps of Setaput Ally Cawn, and some of those commanded by the European refugees, the son of Sumroo, &c., &c. The funds appropriated to their pay will be more than sufficient for that of any regular corps which could be supplied from our army. Rather encourage than reject the application referring it as a point not included in your instructions for future determination.

8thly.—You will endeavour by all means to inform yourself of the designs and proceedings of all foreign agents residing at that Court especially of the Vakeel of Hyder Ally Cawn.

You may find it necessary to explain the nature of your commission, if it should be conceived to differ from others of a like kind. It is professedly

limited to a single point, and of course to the time required for effecting it, and that being effected you will demand your dismission. * If the King shal himself desire your continuance with him he must propose it, and you will acquiesce, not effecting to conceal that you have instructions for that purpose. This will of course render it necessary to change your appointment to that of a fixed Resident, and a commission will be granted you in form by the collective body of this Administration.

If any proposition shall be made to you, for which these instructions do not provide, you will decline to give any positive declarations concerning it, however pressing the occasion may be, until you shall have referred it to me and received my instructions upon it.

I am, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 13th October 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. WHELER, *absent up the country.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 6th instant.

MR. MACPHERSON, 25th September; received 8th October.

I have read the General Letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th of February with attention. When it was first read in Council I understood the paragraphs about the Begums as directing an investigation of the grounds on which they were deprived of their jaghirs, and that we should use our influence with the Vizier to put them in possession of the jaghirs, if there was not sufficient evidence of their rebellious conduct during the troubles at Benares. On a close attention to the words and spirit of the different paragraphs upon this subject, I do not think that we are directed to commence any new investigation of evidence; indeed, I do not well see how such an investigation could be regularly undertaken, or what salutary purpose it could produce. There has been no appeal from the Begums to this Government, and there certainly was sufficient proof at the time that those who had the management of their concern during the troubles of Benares were no friends but real enemies to the cause of the English. The point which the Court of Directors seem to have most at heart are—*1st.* That the engagement of the 2nd Article of the Benares treaty should be faithfully fulfilled; and *2ndly*, to guard against the future conduct of the Vizier if he should be disposed to oppress the Begums.

We should, therefore, ascertain whether the amount of jaghirs of the Begums are regularly paid to them through the Company's Resident, and give them notice that no future demands shall be made upon them. This the Governor-General might I think do in a letter that would make the Begums sensible of their past misconduct, yet inform them of the lenity and graciouse intentions of the Company in ordering them an asylum in Bengal in cases of future distress.

In consequence of the foregoing opinion from MR. MACPHERSON, the following minute was delivered by the Governor-General:—

Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—I should gladly acquiesce in the motion made by Mr. MacPherson if I thought it possible to frame a letter to the Begums in any

terms which should at the same time convey the intimation proposed by it, and not defeat the purpose of it, or be productive of evils greater than any which exist in consequence of the proceedings which have already taken place and which time has almost obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional. They require nothing, but in the event of discoveries made subsequent to the advices which were before them on the 14th February last, in alleviation of their former conduct of the Begums; nothing has since appeared in relation to them but their refusal, or rather that of one, to fulfill her engagement for the payment of the remainder of the sum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier in the beginning of the last year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear and ascertained spirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points to which neither the letter nor evident spirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will. It would ill-become this Government to interpose its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animosities, and a very slight occasion would be sufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpose to tell them that their conduct has in our estimation of it been wrong, and at the same time to announce to them the orders of our superiors, which more than indicate the reverse. They will instantly take fire on such a declaration, proclaim the judgement of the Company in their favor, demand a reparation of the acts which they will construe into wrongs with such a sentence warranting that construction, and either accept the invitation to the proclaimed scandal of the Nabob Vizier, which will not add to the credit of our Government, or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations and the disorder of the country by continual intrigues and sedition. Enough already exists to affect his peace and the quiet of his people. If we cannot heal let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted.

If the Begums think themselves aggrieved to such a degree as to justify them in an appeal to a foreign jurisdiction; to appeal to it against a man standing in the relation of son and grandson to them; to appeal to the justice of those who have been the abettors and instruments of their imputed wrongs; but we at least permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redress them. They will not need to be prompted.

I hope I shall not depart from the simplicity of official language in saying that the majesty of justice ought to be approached with solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much less to debase itself by the suggestion of wrongs and the promise of redress, with the denunciation of punishment before trial, and even before accusation.

WARREN HASTINGS.

MR. MACPHERSON—I see with the Governor-General the difficulty of writing a letter to the Begums that would in some degree extenuate their past conduct, yet convey to them a knowledge of the protection tendered to them in the case of future distresses by the Court of Directors.

I only wished to adopt an expedient to show the Company that we were ready to meet any wishes they had on the subject. I only suggested the idea, but do not move it as a question.

The majesty of justice ought certainly to be met with solicitation, and should not descend to provoke or invite it. But from some expressions in the letter of the Court of Directors I am led to think they had some complaint before them, or a different representation from the evidence sent by this Government, about the rebellion of the Begums, when they wrote their directions of the 14th February last. Otherwise they would either have approved or disapproved of the conduct of this Administration upon the facts stated to them, or have been silent till they received further advices. I agree with Mr. Stables that the Resident at the Court of Oude should be called upon to state to the Board whether the Begums have received the amount of their jaghire.

1029 Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 41 F. D.—20-5-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 10th December to 31st December 1783.

Fort William, the 10th December 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 25th ultimo.

The Board being now assembled in the Secret Department for the first time since the separation of it from the Public Department took place under different establishments on Mr. Auriol's departure for Europe, they are pleased to direct that their Minute in the Public Proceedings of the 23rd September last be now read.

The same is read accordingly—

Minute of the Board, 23rd September.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor-General and Council, 23rd September 1783.

The Board, considering the great weight of official business which has come into the Secretary's office from the extensive and increasing duties of this Government, comptrolling and necessarily providing for the operations of other Presidencies during the war, in a manner which, as it has made them more dependant on the Superior Government, and consequently rendered this Government the chief source for carrying on the war, of course enlarges its correspondence in the Secret Department; while, on the other hand, the augmentation of the army, and the variety of affairs incident to the public attention and decision of this Board in a growing settlement, naturally increases the business of the Public Department, and makes it difficult for the Secretary to bestow the requisite attendance on both; the Board therefore conceive that these departments should be now entirely separated. At the other Presidencies the division is marked by the objects which are secret, falling under the consideration of a President and Select Committee, and those of a public nature exclusively under the President and Council, and each having its distinct Secretary. This Government certainly requires such a separation of offices in a superior degree, and is more likely to find ample occupation for a Secretary in each department.

The Board for these reasons agree that the Secretary's office be divided into two branches, and held under the management of different persons, which may be the more easily effected, as the Proceedings of the Board, though under the same Secretary, have ever been held separate in a Secret and Public Department, according as the business has been either political or general.

Resolved also that this separation be rendered more complete by the appointment of a Secretary to each department with the following establishments:—

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

	Sicca Rupees.
1 Secretary, salary per month and fees the same as are drawn by the present Secretary	1,200
1 Sub-Secretary, salary	800

Assistants, viz.—

	Sicca Rupees.
1 Head Assistant	400
1 Second „	300
1 Third „	250
Carried over	950

Assistants, viz.—concluded.

	Sicca Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.
Brought forward	950	
1 Fourth Assistant	200	
1 Fifth „	150	
1 Sixth „	100	
2 Examiners at Rs. 300	600	
		2,000
1 Registrar		300
4 European monthly writers { 1 at Rs. 350 per month; 1 at „ 300 „; 1 at „ 250 „; 1 at „ 200 „		1,100
8 Portuguese writers { 1 at Rs. 200 per month; 1 at „ 175 „; 1 at „ 150 „; 1 at „ 125 „; 4 at Rs. 100 each „ 400 „		1,050
		6,450

	Sicca Rupees.	
1 Farash	6	
1 Head Duftry	10	
2 Duftries, Rs. 8 and 6	14	
1 Jemadar	10	
6 Peons	30	
1 Mehter	3	
1 Jilladgur	10	
		83

SECRET DEPARTMENT.

Secretary, salary per month	1,200	
In lieu of fees	500	
		1,700
1 Sub-Secretary		800

Assistants, viz.—

1 Head Assistant	400
1 Second „	300
1 Third „	250
1 Fourth „	250
1 Fifth „	200
1 Sixth „	200
1 Seventh „	150
1 Eighth „	150
1 Ninth „	100
1 Tenth „	100
2 Examiners at Rs. 300	600
1 Registrar	300
	5,500

These to be Covenanted servants and chosen entirely by the Secretary.

A farash, jilladgur, duftries, jemadar, peons, and mehter as above, Sicca Rs. 83 per month.

One Company's servant to be employed by the Governor-General and one by each Member of the Board to make extracts and copies for them at 300 Sicca Rupees per month each.

As the business may be heavier at sometimes than at others which may require the casual employment of monthly writers, each Secretary should be allowed to employ such at his discretion, countersigning their bills for payment upon honor.

It is proper to define the objects of each department which are as follows :—

The Public Department takes cognizance of all letters from the other Presidencies, not of a political nature, and from China, of all matters which regard commerce and shipping, of all private and personal applications, and of all transactions with the subordinate offices of Government in their public capacities and of a public nature.

The Secret Department properly comprises all subjects of a political nature, all the correspondence with the Presidents and Select Committees at the other Presidencies also with the Councils there on political affairs, all the correspondence with the Residents at Foreign Courts, and at Benares, all transactions with foreign nations and powers, and every military operation or movement of troops which is either ordered or undertaken.

Resolved that these establishments and regulations do take place from and after the period of the embarkation of our present Secretary.

Resolved that Mr. William Bruere be appointed Secretary to the General or Public Department, and Mr. Hay, Secretary to the Political or Secret Department.

Agreed that the Secretary to the Political Department be allowed to remove the secret records to his own house, and that he do present an annual account to the Board, trusting to the experience of the advantages arising from this arrangement, and to their future approbation for the payment of his account.

(A true copy.)

J. P. AURIOL,
Secretary.

Mr. Hay begs leave to lay before the Board the following letter which he received from Mr. Auriol :—

Mr. Auriol to Mr. Hay. To Mr. EDWARD HAY.

SIR,—Having signified to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council my wish to return to England, and they having been pleased to grant me their permission, I am directed to inform you that the Board have in consequence passed a Resolution for separating the Public from the Secret Department of the Secretary's office, and for appointing a Secretary to each department, with a distinct office and establishment, and that this arrangement is to take effect from the period of my departure in the *Winterton* agreably to the plan contained in the enclosed copy of the Board's Minute of this date, by which you will also perceive that they have been pleased to appoint you to succeed to the post of Secretary to the Secret Department, you will therefore accordingly receive charge of said office with all the records of the Board bolonging to it from me.

As the Board have thought it proper that their meetings in the Secret Department should be held and their records kept in a different place from those of the Public Department, you are authorized to remove them to a proper and convenient house, and desired to lay before the Board an account, certified upon honor, of the expense which you may be at for the rent of it, at the end of the year, when they will consider the same and your claim to being reimbursed by the Company.

I am,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
The 23rd September 1783.

J. P. AURIOL,
Secretary.

A letter from the Secretary having been circulated to the Members of the Board, it is now entered, and the following are the Resolutions of the Board on the subject of it :—

The Secretary, 3rd December.

To the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., *Governor-General, &c., and Council in the Secret Department.*

Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,—I was honored with a letter from Mr. Auriol, written by your orders under date the 23rd September, in which he informed me of the permission which you had been pleased to grant to him to proceed to Europe, and that you had done me the honor of appointing me in that event Secretary to the Secret Department, and that, as you had resolved that your meetings in that department should be held, and your records kept in a different place from those of the Public Department, I was authorized to remove them to a proper and convenient house, and desired to lay before the Board an account, certified upon honor, of the expense which I might be at for the rent of it at the end of the year, when the Board would consider the same, and my claim to be reimbursed by the Company. I was favored also by Mr. Auriol with a Minute from the Board's proceedings to which he referred, setting forth the grounds on which you had been pleased to separate the Secret from the Public Department, and stating the establishment and duties ordered for each of them.

I beg leave to express to you, gentlemen, my unfeigned thanks for the honor which you have done me by the appointment which you have been pleased to confer on me, and to assure you that every effort that I am capable of exerting shall be exerted to do credit to the choice you have been pleased to make of me for that trust.

I have the honor to inform the Board that I have taken charge of the records of the Secret and Foreign Departments, and that, in consequence of Mr. Auriol's departure for Europe, I have begun to do the duties of my new office.

I submit to the Hon'ble Board whether it would not be proper that the other Presidencies, the Commander-in-Chief, and Residents at Foreign Courts, at Lucknow and at Benares, should be informed of the separate duties annexed to the Public and Political Departments, and desired to address their letters accordingly when they write to the Hon'ble Board upon the subjects allotted to each.

I have the honor to lay before the Board some regulations which I propose for the office under my charge, and to request that they may be honored with their sanction. They are calculated for the quick despatch of business, and to secure the means of having it well done.

I have made choice of the following gentlemen, agreeable to the Board's permission, to be my assistants, and beg leave to request your confirmation of it. No list having been yet transmitted by the Hon'ble Court of Directors to this Government, of the rank to be held by the writers appointed in the last season, those gentlemen have been named in my list in the order in which they stand, perhaps accidentally, in the general letter in which their appointments have been mentioned. This may be hereafter corrected when a regular list shall be received ascertaining their respective ranks. And I have placed the gentlemen belonging to the Bombay establishment appointed thither in the season of 1781, and detained here until an answer shall arrive from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors to your recommendation of them to be transferred to the Bengal service, after the Bengal writers of the same year. With respect to those gentlemen, whose allowances will be diminished by their coming into my office, I solicit the Board that they may be allowed the common pay of writers in this establishment, *viz.*, Company's Rupees 96-8-6 per month, in addition to the salary which they will receive as assistants under me. This will be some, though not a complete, compensation to them for the loss which they sustain by becoming so.

Thomas Philpot.

George Arbuthnot.

Joshua Uhthoff.

Henry Fawcett.
Nathan Crow.
William Broughton.
Charles Taylor.
Henry Foster.
John Fombelle.
Mr. Thomas Dashwood, } *Examiners.*
„ Lewis Chauvet, }
„ John Cotton, *Registrar.*

Mr. John Lumsden, Second Assistant in the General Department, coming by presumptive right under me, and being perfectly qualified for the office of Sub-Secretary, I beg leave to recommend to the Board, and to request that he may be honored by their appointment of him to that office.

It remains for the gentlemen of the Board, in consequence of their Resolution of the 23rd of September, to nominate such servants of the Company as they may think proper, to make extracts and copies of the proceedings for their use, and I request to be honored with information of the names of gentlemen whom they respectively choose for this business.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and most faithful servant,

FORT WILLIAM,
The 3rd December 1783.

E. HAY,
Secretary to the Secret Department.

Ordered that the Proceedings of the Board in respect to foreign nations be recorded in a separate department under charge of the Secretary to the Secret Department assisted by the Company's servants in the Secret Office, and that the same be called the "*Foreign Department.*"

Agreed that the following letter be circulated to the other Presidencies, to the Commander-in-Chief, to the Residents at Foreign Courts, and to those at Lucknow and Benares.

Circular.

To Fort St. George.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,—Having come to the resolution of entirely separating the duties of our Secretary in the Secret or Political and Public Departments from each other, and having for this purpose appointed a separate Secretary to each department, we think it necessary to make you acquainted with the several duties annexed to each that you may address your future letters to us accordingly.

The Secret Department will comprise all subjects of a political nature; all correspondence with other Presidencies on political affairs; all correspondence with the Residents at Foreign Courts, and at Benares; all transactions with foreign nations and powers, and every military operation or movement of troops which is either ordered or undertaken; and the Public Department is to take cognizance of all letters from the other Presidencies not of a political nature, and from China, of all matters which regard commerce and shipping, of all private and personal applications and transactions with the subordinate offices of Government in their public capacities and of a public nature.

We are, &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 10th December 1783.

The same to Bombay.

To Major-General Stibbert.
Colonel James Morgan.
Colonel Gilbert Ironside.

To Goa.

To Lieutenant James Anderson.
To Mr. Bristow, &c.

Agreed that Mr. John Lumsden be appointed Sub-Secretary to the Political Department.

Agreed that the following gentlemen be appointed Assistants to the Secretary in the Political Department, and that, as a list has not been yet received from the Hon'ble Court of Directors ascertaining the rank to be held by the writers appointed in the last season, those gentlemen do stand for the present in the order in which their names are mentioned in the general letters in which the Board are informed of their appointments to the Company's service; that the gentlemen belonging to the Bombay establishment, *viz.*, Messrs. Uhthoff, Fawcett, Crow, and Broughton, appointed thither in the season of 1781 and detained here with the consent of the Bombay Presidency, until an answer shall arrive from Europe to the Board's recommendation of them to be transferred to the Bengal establishment, do take rank immediately after the Bengal writers of the same year; and that in consequence of their regular attention to their duty since they have been in the Secretary's office, and as an earnest for their future, punctual observance of it, they do receive the common pay of writers on this establishment, *viz.*, Company's Rs. 96-8-6 per month in addition to the salary which they will receive as assistants under the Secretary:—

Mr. Thomas Philpot,
„ George Arbuthnot,
„ Joshua Uhthoff,
„ Henry Fawcett,
„ Nathan Crow,
„ William Broughton,
„ Charles Taylor,
„ Henry Foster,
„ John Fombelle.

Agreed that Mr. John Cotton be appointed Registrar in the Political Department, and Messrs. John Lewis Chauvet and Thomas Dashwood, Examiners.

The Governor-General acquaints the Board that he shall have occasion for the services of two Assistants in the Political Department, and begs leave to appoint Mr. John Routledge and Mr. John Palmer to this office.

Mr. Wheler begs leave to appoint Mr. John Cotton his Assistant in the Political Department.

Mr. MacPherson requests that Mr. Alexander Macleod, a servant of the Company on the Madras establishment, and a gentleman in his confidence and family, may be appoined his assistant.

Mr. Stables requests that Mr. Thomas Wilkinson, a servant of the Company on the Bombay establishment, and a gentleman with whom he is nearly connected, may be appointed his Assistant.

Agreed to the above appointments and resolved that the following letters be written to Fort St. Gorge and Bombay:—

To Fort St. George and to Bombay.

My Lord and Gentlemen,—One of our Members having occasion for the service of Mr. Alexander Macleod, a gentleman on your establishment, now here, we request that you will be pleased to continue the leave of absence which you have granted him, and allow him to remain in Bengal:

Fort William,
The 10th December.

We have the honor to be, &c.

The same to Bombay with respect to Mr. Thomas Wilkinson.

To Fort St. George (Council).

Ordered that the several appointments under the Governor-General, Members of the Board, and Secretary, together with such parts of the Board's Minute as may be necessary, be communicated to the Civil Paymaster, and that he be directed to conform thereto in his acceptance of the bills that may be presented to him for payment.

Read the regulations proposed by the Secretary for the office under his charge.

Fort William, the 3rd December 1783.

Regulations for the Secret Office.

The Secretary begs leave to propose to the Board the following regulations for the observance of the Company's servants in the Secret Department, and requests that the same may receive the sanction of their authority.

That every Company's servant be duly sworn in on his entrance into office, that care be taken that the date of the oath and name of the Member or Members of the Board before whom the oath shall be taken be mentioned in the book or paper that contains it, and that a clause be added to the oath now in use positively forbidding every servant in the Secret Department to transmit any information of any occurrence which may come to his knowledge, in any private letter to Europe.

2. That all the Assistants shall attend at the office every day, Sundays excepted, during the cold months, *viz.*, from 1st November to 1st April, from 10 o'clock in the forenoon until half-past 1 in afternoon, and during the hot months, *viz.*, from the 1st of April to the 1st of November, from 8 o'clock in the forenoon to 12 at noon.

3. That two Assistants shall regularly attend at office in turn every evening, Sundays excepted, from 7 o'clock to half-past 9, except on the occasion of a despatch when the attendance of all will be required.

4. That any Assistant who from illness or other causes shall be unable to give his attendance, do send notice every morning of his absence to the Sub-Secretary in a note assigning the cause for it.

5. That two Assistants shall give their attendance at the office every Council day, untill the Council breaks up. This duty to be performed in rotation, and the names of the persons on whom it shall fall to be returned each day before the meeting of the Board to the Secretary by the Sub-Secretary.

6. That the Head Assistant shall superintend the execution of the current business in detail after it has been distributed to the Assistants, that he shall daily collect from the Examiners all the papers prepared for signature, send them round for that purpose, and be responsible for the close and despatch of all current letters, and make abstracts of every letter received when delivered to him by the Secretary for that purpose.

7. That the Sub-Secretary do make abstracts and indexes of the proceedings in the Secret and Foreign Departments, and give out papers and consultations to be copied, keeping a regular book of the names of the gentlemen to whom he gives them.

8. That the proceedings shall be drawn out on the morning after they are held, and every copy required of them made and laid before the Board for signature at the next meeting, if that meeting shall be in not less than 7 days after the preceding one was held, if unless the proceedings be ready for signing as soon as possible within any time not exceeding that period.

9. That every paper and proceeding shall be examined as soon as copied fair and signed by one of the Examiners with his name written at full length at the close of it.

10. That all consultations after having been examined, as well as after having been signed, be lodged in proper presses and not taken therefrom but by the Secretary, Sub-Secretary, or Registrar.

11. That all original consultations when copied fair be delivered to the Registrar and put into proper presses, and that the Registrar be made accountable for them on such regulations as may be established for his observance by the Secretary.

12. That all requisitions for any papers from any Members of the Board be made to the Registrar, and that the Registrar do, on obeying them and receiving them back, cause a proper entry to be made thereof in a particular book kept for that purpose.

13. That the Registrar do, as soon as possible with the assistance of the Sub-Secretary and under the orders of the Secretary, prepare an exact list of the papers and records in the Secret and Foreign Departments, as well as of all that may be missing, and that the same be laid before the Board as soon as possible.

14. That the gentlemen appointed by the Members of the Board to make extracts and copies of the proceedings for their use, do make the same in the Secret Office, and not take away any papers therefrom but by a special authority from the Member of the Board who appoints him, signified to the Secretary.

15. That the Assistants appointed by the Members of the Board be duly sworn in the same manner as the Secretary's Assistants.

16. That a roll be carefully kept by the Sub-Secretary of the names of the gentlemen who do and do not attend daily at his office with the reasons assigned for absence of those who may not attend, and that the same be laid upon the Council Table to be at every meeting for the inspection of the Board.

17. That all monthly bills for the pay of the Assistants be signed by the Secretary before they are paid by the Civil Paymaster, and that the Secretary do on no account sign the bills of those gentlemen who do not pay due attention to their respective duties.

18. That the Secretary do occasionally report to the Board when his Assistants have done their duty diligently and well, that the Board may be acquainted with their merits, and that examples may be made in favor of those who have proved themselves good servants of the Company.

E. HAY,

Secretary to the Secret Department.

Approved the foregoing Regulations and ordered that a copy of them signed by the Governor-General and Members of the Board be affixed in the Secret Office, and that the gentlemen be informed that the Board expect their strictest and most punctual observance of them, being determined to make an example on every neglect of duty in whomsoever it may appear.

The Board agree to meet in this department on Tuesday in every week.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following oath drawn out by the Company's Attorney in conformity to the first regulation for the Secret Office:—

Oath to the Secretary of his Assistants.

I swear that I will be true and faithful to the trust reposed in me, as in the Secret Department of the Governor-General and Council of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, that I will not disclose any resolutions, letters, or proceedings of the said Governor-General and Council, without the permission of the said Governor-General and Council, or of the Court of Directors, of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for the time being; that I will be careful of all its records entrusted to my care, and to the utmost of my power and abilities preserve them in the Secretary's Office with secrecy, suffering no person to peruse them, but with the approbation of the said Governor-General and Council, or the said Court of Directors, that I will not transmit in any letter or letters I may at any time write to any person or persons whatsoever, any information of any occurrence or occurrences that shall or may come to my knowledge, by virtue of my office which I now hold or may hereafter hold in this department, and that I will preserve the same secrecy at all times and in all places after I may have left this department except where I shall be legally required and bound to reveal the same.

Sworn before me by—at Fort William in Bengal this tenth day of December in the year of Our Lord 1783.

The Secretary takes the oath belonging to his office.

The Sub-Secretary and following Assistants take the oath belonging to their respective stations:—

Mr. Thomas Philpot.
„ George Arbuthnot.
„ Joshua Uhthoff.
„ William Broughton.
„ Henry Fawcett.
„ Henry Foster.
„ John Fombelle.
„ John Lewis Chauvet, *Examiner.*
„ John Cotton, *Registrar.*

Secret Dept., Tuesday. Fort William, the 16th December 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 10th instant.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL—The advices contained in these letters are so very imperfect that the Governor-General desires for himself to decline joining in any orders that may be issued concerning them. The zemindars in the Province of Oude and in the other dominions of the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah have ever been either in a state of actual rebellion or bordering upon it. Even in the time of the Nabob Sujah-ul-Dowlah they could only be restrained by a military force superior to that which they could oppose to it. At this time the government and administration of that country are usurped, as far as they can be usurped, by Mr. Bristow. He is in the practice of making ostensible representations to the Board, but concealing his own agency and their object, as I have already shown in numerous and incontrovertible instances, and of receiving orders from the Board, which directed his application to the Nabob Vizier for Acts to be passed by his authority, but executing them by his own. The people, even the meanest of them, are aware of the weakness which that Government derives from this irregular and unascertained rule. The zemindars will be encouraged to acts of greater contumacy than even those to which they were accustomed, and the aumils will avail themselves of it for interested purposes. At this time especially, when the necessities of the country and (what concerns us infinitely more) the subsistence of two armies of our own establishment depend on the vigorous and consistent exercise of some power both to guard against the fatal effects of the impending drought and to maintain the peace of the country from the desperate consequences which are ever incident to such a calamity, it becomes the Board to consider whether it is morally possible for Mr. Bristow to exercise the control which he has assumed in subversion of the natural jurisdiction of the country, or if it be resolved that he shall exercise it, whether it will not be necessary even to go further, and to authorize and direct him to assume it avowedly, to appoint agents and officers of Government in the name of the Company, and be himself responsible for their acts. The Governor-General means not to recommend this. God forbid that he should propose a measure so contrary to his sense of justice, of policy, and of national faith, and so inconsistent with the whole tenor of his public conduct, but he sees a train of irregularities leading to certain ruin in the present acts and pretensions of the Resident, and whatever may be

the determination of the Board, he records these sentiments both as a warning to them, and as an exculpation for himself from whatever may hereafter be the consequences.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—Mr. Bristow having in a former letter complained that the bankers who had lent to the Nabob, or to Mr. Bristow in the Nabob's name, fifteen lacs of rupees, had refused to make another loan of the same sum, although bound, as I recollect, by positive engagements, and had demanded payment of the first loan, both which instances he speaks of in terms charging them with insolence and presumption, or using expressions very nearly resembling these, this led me to enquire of Lala Coshaul Chand, the principal agent of Gopaul Doss Shaw at this place, whether he knew of any such engagement as that mentioned by Mr. Bristow. He assured me that he did not, and gave me reasons which at the time convinced me that it was morally impossible he could. He has since confirmed this declaration on the authority of his master, to whom he wrote on the subject, and has furnished me with a copy of the bond given for the loan actually made, which with its translations I lay before the Board, deeming it, if authentic, a clear and absolute refutation of the assertion made by Mr. Bristow.

Bond under the seal of MR. JOHN BRISTOW, dated the 6th Rajib, 1197 Hijri, answering to the 8th June 1783, corresponding with the 23rd Choit 1190 Fuslee.

The sum of 17 lacs 40 thousand Lucknow Sicca Rupees has been paid to the Hon'ble Company's Sircar by the underwritten creditors through the hands of Lala Monsa Ram, the Gomashta of Lala Gopaul Doss Shaw, upon loan at the rate of 1 per cent. monthly interest which I engage to repay, after the Company's necessary expenses, from the receipts of the Company's assignments upon the Mahals of the Nabob Vizier.

	Rs.	Rs.
Principal—		
From Lala Monsa Ram, the Gomashta of Lala Gopaul Dass Shaw	14,00,000	
	1,00,000	
		15,00,000
Hundeeawan at the rate of 16 per cent. . .	...	2,40,000
TOTAL .	...	17,40,000

The Governor-General further begs leave to remind the Board that there are now two applications before them for their determination: one from Lala Coshaul Chand petitioning the Board's orders for the payment of this debt; and another from the Nabob Vizier requesting that he may be permitted to restore to his grandmother and other relations the jaghirs which were taken from them the beginning of last year. As this last request is immediately connected with the order of the Court of Directors he desires that it may be taken into consideration at the same time and entered in this place.

Extract of a letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, to the Governor-General and Council, dated 14th February 1783.

Paragraph 10.—If it shall hereafter be found that the Begams did not take that hostile part against the Company which has been represented (as well in the Governor-General's narrative, as in several documents therein referred to, and as it nowhere appears from the papers at present in our possession that they excited any commotion previous to the imprisonment of Raja Cheyt Sing, but only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction, and as it is probable that such a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of self-defence under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions), we direct that you use your influence

with the Vizier that their jaghirs may be restored to them, but if they should be under apprehensions respecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wish our further protection, it is our pleasure that you afford those *ladies* an asylum within the Company's territories, and they be paid the amount of the net collection of their jaghirs, agreeably to the 2nd Article of the late treaty, through the medium of our Resident, as may be ascertained upon an average estimate of some years back.

The Governor-General lays before the Board the following letter and enclosures from the Nabob Vizier :—

Received 29th November 1783.

Usual introduction.

In all due attention to the rights of friendship towards the Company, the gentlemen of the Council and yourself, I have at no time been deficient from my regard thereto. I have so acted as to give satisfaction to the gentlemen heretofore appointed to this place; and they likewise in managing the concerns of the Company attended to the preservation of my honor and dignities, so that there was no opportunity for censure or complaint on either side.

In the year 1189 Fuslee, Mr. Johnson adopted certain measures calculated to bring disgrace upon me, which being made known to the gentlemen of the Council and yourself, your equity and kindness induced you to call the above gentlemen to an account. Mr. Bristow from the time of his arrival has done, and still does, everything that can tend to depreciate my authority. Repeated accounts have been transmitted to you of his injurious conduct, but as yet no justice has been done, or due notice taken of them; and the above gentleman is now more than ever bent on involving me in difficulties and disgrace.

I have always been wont to discharge the Company's tuncaw by assignments on the aumils of my Sircar, and the amount received from them being placed to my credit in the Company's accounts by the former Residents, they again received janidaud from me for the balances that might remain. If the assignments from the aumils fell short from any unforeseen accidents, the Resident did not require the deficiency from them, for there could have been no advantages in so doing, and thus the Company's concerns were well conducted. Mr. Bristow without my knowledge or consent has thought proper to put Khauja Ain-ul-Deen, aumil of Bareilly, &c., in the Province of Rohilcund, under confinement. To detail the particulars of this transaction would be tedious. He has proceeded thus against the Khauja on accusations false and groundless; no objections have been made by me to peremptorily and threateningly calling on any aumil for the payment of his monies; on the contrary, I myself so call on them when necessary, but Mr. Bristow has of his own accord confined this aumil, and still keeps him in confinement, and having included his balance in the accounts of the present year, has forcibly taken janidaud from me, and he means not to leave me anything for my necessary expenses. Having agreed to his requisition of jaidaud for the Khauja's balance, which he had added to the accounts of the present year, I repeatedly by letter and message applied for his release, but he still keeps him in confinement. To your candour I refer the consideration of the disgrace thus thrown upon me, in consequence of his thus imprisoning my aumils by his own authority—a mode of proceeding never adopted by any of his predecessors. The aumils dependent on my Sircar are loaded with dishonour, whilst those dependent on Mr. Bristow's, such as Ismael Beg and others, who were appointed in the past year only, and who, though there has been no drought in their mahals, have greatly reduced the established jumma, have far exceeded the usual allowances for expenses, and have fallen in arrears in the payment of the Company's tuncaw granted on them, are still continued in possession of their mahals, and are his confidential ministers and advisers. No demand is made on them for the deficiency of jumma, increase of expenses or balance of the Company's tuncaw, but the latter is charged on me, included in the accounts of the present

year, and janidaud required for the amount to which I have not the power to object. Others of his measures and orders are as follow :—I have always been wont to discharge a part of the Company's tuncaw, by janidaud on the payment of Almass Ally Cawn from which I likewise received a part for my own expenses. This year Mr. Bristow has withheld the janidaud for the latter, my necessary disbursements, and though I have repeatedly desired him both by letter and message to take a part only of the payments from Almass Ali Khan into the Company's tuncaw, as heretofore, and to let me receive a part for my expenses, he will not comply, but has written to Almass Ally Khan, saying "I will receive the whole of the monies due from you, you will pay no part thereof to any person whatever. If you do, I will not give you credit for it in your accounts." He likewise laid injunctions on Almass Ally Khan's Vakeel, saying "if His Highness requires any money from thence, you shall not give it." Thus having put a stop to my necessary expenses and issued orders declaring that if anything was paid to my orders, it should not be admitted in account, what authority is left me with either the aumils or the people? Add to the foregoing that the difficulties I labour under from the present scarcity are such as require my most earnest supplications to God.

One other of the above gentleman's proceedings is as follows :—The change and dismission of aumils was talked of and determined by him in the month of Jeyt; and those who assisted him with their advice were all of them encouraged to expect employment. The engagements entered into for the year expired at the end of Bhadro; and the zemindars and ryots always ready to take advantage of events, hearing of the proposed new arrangement, withheld the payment of their monies. At length in consequence of Mr. Bristow's injunctions the change of aumils was entered on. Such well-founded reasons as were offered in opposition on this head, were disregarded by him. I was left without remedy, and acted as he directed; by this measure large balances remained due from the country on account of the remaining kists of the past year which has become a plea for deduction with the present aumils. Thus I have suffered the loss of lacs of rupees, and Mr. Bristow, having carried the balances of the aumils to my account in the accounts of the present year, exacts janidaud from me, and I am unable to object to it.

These measures and proceedings of the above gentleman are not done without deliberation and design; to enter into particulars would be endless. In addition to this every one is impeached by him with false and groundless accusations. Thus situated let me conjure your equitable interposition. How can I support my existence now that Mr. Bristow's persecutions and my disgrace are arrived at the pitch they are? I implore redress; let me obtain justice.

Concludes as usual.

Letter from Mr. Bristow to Almass Ally Cawn, dated 15th Zeekanda, 1197 Hijri, or 12th October 1783.

Received at Calcutta, 24th October 1783.

Enclosed in the letter from the Nawab vizier.

Usual introduction.

It being my intention to take the full produce of the mahals under your charge in janidaud for the Company's tuncaw, I therefore advise you that you must not give any part of the produce of the said mahals under your management to any person whatever without my permission. In this you will in no respect be neglectful.

Concludes as usual.

Governor-General.

Mr. Bristow in the letter last read avowedly mentions both his previous intention of confining Khauja Ain-ul-Deen, one of the Nabob's principal aumils, his actual execution of that intention, the Nabob's application in

writing to Mr. Bristow for the release of the aumil, and Mr. Bristow's refusal to comply with it. The Nabob also complains of this transaction in the letter to me which is entered above, and of a letter written by Mr. Bristow to Almass Ally Cawn, containing the declaration of his intention to take the full produce of the mahals which were under Almass' charge for part of the Company's assignment, with a dictatorial prohibition to give any part of the produce of it without his (Mr. Bristow's) permission.

These are acts of power so contrary to every pretension that this Government can assert, or has ever authorized Mr. Bristow to exercise, that I must request the Board to determine whether they have or have not their sanction, and whether he shall hereafter be permitted to exercise the like power independently of the Nabob and without respect to his concurrence. This in effect will determine the question which I have proposed in my first Minute.

I must also take notice of the reason assigned by Mr. Bristow for refusing to comply with the Nabob's requisition for the release of Khauja Ain-ul-Deen, namely "that the Nabob's letters may, in the words of his instructions, be considered as dictated by Hyder Beg Cawn." A similar expression occurs in a former letter of Mr. Bristow's, dated 14th of October, in which he says—"Had the salutary measures of the Hon'ble the Governor-General been received with a cordiality at this Court equal to the zeal and earnestness with which they were proposed, and a steadiness shewn by the Prince in the execution of them, answerable to the wisdom of the Counsels which produced them, the affairs of Oude would long since have assumed an aspect very different from that in which they now appear." This indecent and very disrespectful allusion to my orders for acts done in gross and shameful violation of them cannot receive the countenance of the Board; for surely it is indecent and disrespectful after the past complaints made by myself, as well as the Nabob, against Mr. Bristow for his perversion and disobedience of my orders, to appeal to them for his warrant with epithets of affected praise; nor is his disobedience of any express injunction to act in every instance in conformity to the Nabob's will and inclinations, palliated, but on the contrary, exaggerated by his allusion to a remote observation made by me upon a different and special subject and neither expressing nor implying any instruction for his conduct.

For these reasons, and because I do most solemnly declare that Mr. Bristow does not either confine himself to my instructions, or pay the least regard to them, I do again conjure the Board to determine the line of his conduct, and to give him such instructions as in their judgment shall be proper and requisite for the effectual execution of the system which he has himself established, and which the Board has hitherto permitted, if it be their determination that such a system shall be maintained, or such other instructions as in their better judgment they shall think proper to frame. And this I conceive to have become indispensably necessary by the application made by Mr. Bristow himself for his guidance, on the occasion of the declaration made to him by me in conformity to one made some time preceding by myself to the Board, that instructions under which he acted or pretended to act were no longer my instructions.

Some reply must be made to this reference, or Mr. Bristow will be left without authority, and, what is worse, without a control. Therefore the Board must either adopt those instructions, and call them their own, or must give others. If they declare them to be their own, it will be necessary to explain those parts which are construed by Mr. Bristow in a sense which I have affirmed, and do affirm, to be contradictory of my own, and, as I have no longer the right or power of explaining my own instructions, it seems to be but reasonable that the Board, having approved the line of conduct pursued by Mr. Bristow, should either explain their sense of those instructions or give him new.

I forbear in this place to state the points which will require the determination of the Board, because they might lead to a disagreeable as well as unprofitable discussion which, I yet hope, may be avoided.

Secret Dept., Saturday. Fort William, the 27th December 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 16th instant.

The following Minute prepared by the Governor-General previous to his seeing the foregoing Minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. MacPherson, and Mr. Stables, was circulated by his orders to the other members of the Board on the 23rd instant:—

23rd December 1783.

Governor-General's Minute.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—Mr. Bristow's representation of the conduct of the bankers in the letter last addressed to the Board, and his preceding letter of the 14th October are so consistent with his usual dealing with the Board, that I will unravel it for the conviction of the Board, and hope that they will not fail to take due notice of it. I must premise that he is in charge of the most important station in the service, both with relation to its political magnitude and the great pecuniary interest attached to it, and that therefore his reports ought to be both regular, complete, and strictly just in every point of business, and that the neglect of this duty, but more especially a perversion of it, is in the highest degree criminal. Mr. Bristow, in his letter of the 14th October, after stating that Gopaul Doss, the banker, had lent to the Company 15 lacs of rupees in June last, and promised as much more at a short period as should make the loan 30 lacs complete, complained that he both evaded the performance of this condition, agreement, and engagement (for such are the terms which he variously uses in the same sentence) and had even presumed to demand payment of the first loan. The Board in their reply, dated 21st November, required a copy of the engagement on which Mr. Bristow founds his claim, and how does he answer it? He refers the Board for information to an extract from a letter written to the Board on the 3rd of June, which states the original transaction in a light totally different, and adds the Board's answer approving the loan, a translation of the bond given by him for the first loan, engaging to repay it in the manner claimed by Gopaul Doss, and transmits a further extract of his letter of the 14th of October containing his representation of the failure of engagement on part of Gopaul Doss. But though he quotes the order of the Board, directing him to transmit "copies of the engagement with Gopaul Doss, and to explain in the clearest manner all the circumstances attending this transaction," and immediately subjoins his reply in terms which mark an intention to give the satisfaction thus pointedly required, yet he neither transmits copies of the engagement, nor gives any explanation of the transaction. But as he has neglected this duty of respect at least, if not of obedience, I will do it for him, and shew that he has either indecently misrepresented the whole transaction, or which, I rather hope, will prove to be the case, has perplexed and confounded the subject by his eargerness to force it to a connection with his favorite object, the crimination of Hyder Beg Cawn. My exposition shall not embarrass the Board, nor fatigue their attention, for it shall be confined to the materials furnished by Mr. Bristow himself in the despatch immediately before us. In the extract of his letter to the Board, dated the 3rd of June, he mentioned "his having concluded an agreement with the house of Gopaul Dass for 15 lacs of rupees, that he expected to receive the bills in the course of two or three days, and should then commence another negotiation for 15 lacs more, and so on, untill he obtained as large a "sum as he was able," and that "he did not choose to inform the bankers of the sum total he must require, as they would have exacted higher terms than he should think it justifiable to grant;" and that "the plan which he proposed for repayment of the bankers was to engage that after supplying the

disbursements of the troops under the command of Colonel Morgan and Colonel Sir John Cumming, and the expenses of the Resident's office, all surplus receipts shall be paid to them;" and this engagement appears accordingly concluded in the terms of the bond. Nothing can be clearer nor less ambiguous than this explanation of the transaction, when it was offered as a proposition for the option of the Board. The engagement is stated in terms to be limited to 15 lakhs, and the intention of extending it is also declared to have been most cautiously withheld from the knowledge of the bankers, and the condition of payment is defined. Yet in the reviewal of this transaction on the 14th of October Mr. Bristow affirms that "when in June last he procured from the house of Gopaul Doss the sum of 15 lacs of rupees he had a promise of so much more at a short period as should make the loan to our Government 30 lacs complete," adding that Gopaul Doss had broken his engagement, and even demanded payment of the sum of the actual loan. And he connects this information with the charge of breach of engagement, in such a manner, as implies the same criminal construction of it, though he at the same time furnished the Board with the most ample warrants for Gopaul Doss in making the demand for payment in his confession of the original engagement, and in the translation of the bond which expresses the condition of payment, and which allows only a preference to the charges of the two military corps and of his own office, after which it was positively agreed to apply the produce of the growing collections to the discharge of the bond. I pass over Mr. Bristow's charges against Gopaul Doss for the insolence of employing an agent of his own nomination in opposition to the choice of Mr. Bristow, and for "abandoning those prudent maxims by which alone, as merchants, they ought to have regulated their conduct" in declining to trust Mr. Bristow with a second loan of 15 lacs (no small sum, nor the proper subject of personal compliment) after the refusal to discharge the first. The claim of right to dictate to a banker whom he shall employ as the agent of his affairs, and to appropriate all the money which the banker can raise, and for which he himself has occasion, loses both its degree and quality of presumption in its comparison with the usurpation of the rights and power of an independent State, and the insolence which could prescribe to a sovereign prince the number of horses which he should be allowed to ride, or the dishes which should be cooked for his table. While I remark the inconsistency of Mr. Bristow's representation, I am yet willing to suppose, as I before suggested, that he may have erred in the expression, but not in the fact, and that he may mean to allude to some agreement made by Gopaul Doss after the settlement and advance of the first loan, though he affirms them to have taken place at the same time; but, to establish this solution of the difficulty, it will still remain to prove that Gopaul Doss did engage to make a further loan, and for this purpose Mr. Bristow must comply with the orders already so clearly expressed in our letter of the 25th November "to transmit copies of the engagement with Gopaul Doss and to explain in the clearest manner all the circumstances attending this transaction." It is not the custom of bankers to make verbal engagements, and Lala Coshaul Chund, Gopaul Doss's agent, has assured me, on the authority of his master, that he made no such engagement.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The following Minute from the Governor-General was sent with the foregoing on the 23rd instant to the other Members of the Board for their perusal:—

23rd December 1783.

The subject of Mr. Bristow's letter of the 1st of November is alarming not on account of its immediate effects, for they are past, but as it indicates so total a dissolution of the powers of the Vizier's Government as must have a tendency to excite similar and repeated instances of sedition. I shall make but one brief remark upon Mr. Bristow's state of this transaction, which is, that a tumult of the most flagitious kind was suffered to manifest itself in a gradual progress of some months till it grew to such magnitude as threatened the life of the

Nabob Vizier himself during a period, as Mr. Bristow's letter states, of three days, and I have reason to believe that it was of yet longer duration, and that Mr. Bristow in all this important interval appears to have stood by a quiet and passive spectator, although he had a regiment of the Company's sepoys and his own body-guard, which is nearly equal to a regiment of sepoys, at his instant command, and might with such a force have repelled the whole strength of the Nabob Vizier's military establishment, had it been united in so loose and unconducted a species of hostility. This is a point which he ought to explain, for, if he had it in his power to suppress the mutiny, and did not, his conduct was criminal in the last degree. If otherwise, it concerns both his credit and the honor of our Government, that the doubts which he has thrown on his own conduct should be removed by a clear exposition of it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Secret Dept., Wednesday. Fort William, the 31st December 1783.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

MR. STABLES, *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 27th instant.

Extract from the Minutes of the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 27th *of* September 1783.

The following letters from the Marquis de Bussy are now read:—

To the RIGHT HON'BLE LORD GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.B.

MY LORD—I have received the letter which Your Lordship did me the honor to write me on the 8th instant by the English frigate, the *Active*, together with the packets from my Court which accompanied it. I am very sensible of the attention which Your Lordship has been pleased to shew to my recommendation in favor of the Ship *St. Peter d'Aleantara.*

I have actually received the letter of the 3rd August that Your Lordship mentions, but did not acknowledge the receipt of it, having forgot its date.

Being ignorant of the state and condition of Pondicherry I thought it practicable to make some external repairs to secure the inhabitants from a *coup de main* from the vagabonds, known by the name of Looties, who agreeably to the horrid but received custom throughout all Indostan follow the Indian armies without pay, or any other expectations than that of plunder, which they indiscriminately commit both on friend and foe, so that an army of 30,000 fighting men in the pay of the prince and executing his commands may be said to be doubled by the number of these vagabonds whom in my former letter I termed banditti. There are many of these people among the handfull of troops who are now with Sayed Saheb, and, notwithstanding the examples he has made of hanging up some by the feet, and cutting the ears and noses of others, he has not been able to restrain these vagabonds, who even came into one of the bazars of Pondicherry, cut the people, and carried off with them grain and other effects.

Having lately received an account of the condition of this town, I perceived that the request which I made you was unnecessary, and that your concurrence and that of the Committee of Madras would prove ineffectual, as no partial works will be of any avail till the whole of the fortifications shall be completely rebuilt which cannot at present be undertaken. I now proceed to more essential points, My Lord, which concern the French troops under my command and the evacuation of Cuddalore, that I may be enabled to reinstate you in possession of it at the period specified in the 20th Article of the preliminary treaty or sooner if practicable.

The bad season approaches, when the monsoon once set in, it will be very difficult if not impossible to evacuate Cuddalore for some time. I have therefore resolved to embark some ammunition, provisions, and stores together with a few guns and to land them at Pondicherry.

I have considered your concurrence and that of the Committee to my first request as implicitly including that of having troops and stores for our defence, otherwise that concurrence would be illusive, as our stores at Cuddalore are at least secured by a wall, whereas at Pondicherry there is not even a ditch. The request which I now make to you to permit the French troops and our sick into the town or rather the village of Pondicherry, is placing in Your Lordship more confidence than is dictated by policy, and cannot be considered in the light of a reinstatement, which cannot formally and legally take place, but shall likewise refrain from every act of authority.

There is no part of this arrangement that can wound your interests, and the Committee of Madras in opposing it will evince but little desire to restore the harmony and confidence which peace has re-established between the two nations. I should censure myself for entertaining such a doubt and I may perhaps have anticipated an objection which might have wounded the delicacy of the Committee.

Nevertheless I should offer some reasons in support of my request and shall therefore enter into a detail on this subject.

On the persuasion that I should receive orders from my Court relative to the cessation of hostilities (concerted with the Court of London) I have hitherto been silent upon these important subjects. I now despair of receiving those orders in sufficient time to execute them before the monsoon. I have in consequence the honor of submitting to you the following observations :—

1st.—The French troops are encamped at Mangecopam, where they cannot remain during the rains; it will be necessary therefore to canton them in the neighbouring villages, *viz.*, Tripatore, &c., but for that purpose it will be requisite that they should be evacuated by the inhabitants who are on the point of being restored to your authority, and consequently complaints, reproaches, and everything to which such a disposition would give rise will ensue; orders shall be given to prevent any excess, but, notwithstanding the best discipline that may be observed, many of the inhabitants will, there is reason to apprehend, be aggrieved, and, as I have before mentioned, those inhabitants are on the eve of being placed under your authority, to injure them would be therefore wounding your future interest. I could wish therefore to avoid being obliged to punish infringements or to be subject much against my will to see these inhabitants distressed.

2nd.—The hospitals which are at Mangecopam occupy a number of houses separated from each other. The service from that circumstance becomes the more difficult (I will not add the more expensive), but it shocks humanity not to be able to afford the sick the most particular accommodations and attentions.

3rd.—The situation of Mangecopam is become unhealthy and from circustances will be rendered more so every day.

4th.—My residence in the environs of Pondicherry and that of the ships in the road occasion the entrance and disembarkation of several soldiers and sailors in the town, and nothing prevents their desertion in a place open on all sides which is only guarded by a few peons armed with sticks whose province is to watch over the police and at whose head is placed the same Naynar that you left there.

I have the honor therefore of proposing to Your Lordship after these few observations that the French troops and our sick be permitted to move into Pondicherry, where they will be much less exposed to the inclemencies of the climate, residing upon a spot which in a short time will be restored to their nation, and where order and good discipline will be more easily maintained by their being together than if distributed in villages distant from each other.

Where the monsoon more distant I should be able to canton the troops in the environs, but the huts and sheds which it would be necessary to erect would now be scarcely finished before the expiration of the monsoon.

I beg leave to repeat that this measure cannot be considered as a re-instatement of possession, as the French flag cannot be hoisted before a formal retrocession shall have taken place, but this advantage will result from this measure that Cuddalore will be more speedily evacuated than if the troops and sick had remained in that town or in its environs, and it would in that case be equally necessary for the inhabitants to quit Cuddalore. It appears to me more proper to keep only a trifling garrison there of a few Europeans and black troops, who will be ready to deliver up the town upon the first requisition either in consequence of orders received from Europe or of any arrangement upon which we may resolve.

I would not have appointed a person to maintain good order in Pondicherry had any been nominated for that purpose by the Government of Madras. Your silence in this respect appeared to me to be the most direct acquiescence in the propriety of adopting every salutary measure tending to prevent disorders. The police, as I have before observed, is in other respects under the direction of the same Naynar whom you left at Pondicherry. I flatter myself, My Lord, that you will find this answer satisfactory from the motives which have till now actuated my conduct; they are founded in the conviction that you conceive me to be as incapable of preferring ill-founded pretensions, as I am well convinced that the Government of Madras will be ready to forward arrangements which are beneficial to our nation without being prejudicial to the English interest. In fine, whatever may be your determination, I request you will communicate it to me as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be with regard and consideration,

MANGICOPAM,
18th September 1783.

BUSSY.

The following Minute having been received by the Secretary on the 28th instant at noon from MR. WHELER, MR. MACPHERSON, and MR. STABLES, it was sent immediately by the Secretary to the Governor-General and the Minute in reply to it which is entered after it, having been received from the Governor-General in the evening, was immediately circulated to the other Members of the Board:—

The Governor-General in his Minute of the 16th instant having declined proposing or joining in any orders that may be issued concerning the advices lately received from Oude, having likewise stated a necessity which may exist for authorising Mr. Bristow in the event of our support of him in the authority which he exercises to assume avowedly the Government of the Vizier's country and to appoint agents and officers of Government in the name of the Company, and having called upon us to adopt the instructions given to Mr. Bristow and call them those of the Board (disavowing them to be any longer those of the Governor-General) or to make out other instructions for the guidance of Mr. Bristow, we deem it necessary to take these respective subjects into our most serious consideration, and to consider maturely what measures are most likely, in the present distressed situation of the Company's finances to recover the heavy balances due to them by the Vizier, and to secure the tranquillity of his dominions.

As it is our most earnest wish that such measures should be adopted, and as we should think ourselves more fortunate in meeting any arrangement that may favor the public good and coincide with the Governor-General's sentiments, than to establish on the clearest ground of argument the force and justice of the opinion which we have already recorded relative to the affairs of Oude, we shall not recapitulate here what is already in reference to the Court of Directors; we shall not dwell on those obligations which bind every member of the Government to adopt and support the resolutions of the majority of its members, nor shall we even regret that the Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn should ultimately prevail in effecting the removal of the Public Minister of this Government from Lucknow, if that removal can be productive of real

and immediate advantage to the Company and of more unanimity in our Council.

Upon the same principles, we hope if it shall be the mature and decided resolution of this Government to continue the present Resident at Lucknow, and give him the instructions and powers which the occasion renders necessary for the recovery of the Company's balances, and the regular payment of their troops, that the Governor-General will not think of withdrawing the very essential support of his name and authority from those measures, which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintenance of the Company's interests in Oude. To withhold that support would be in effect to render our utmost exertions of no public utility, for as it has been the custom to carry on all correspondence with the Vizier in the name and under the seal of the Governor-General, a deviation from this rule would not only invalidate the force of our representations, but leave ground for those evils which are to be removed.

The object of appointing a Resident at the Vizier's Court, as well as of the instructions which should be the guide of his conduct, must be principally directed to the payment of the Company's claims upon the Vizier and the good order of his Government.

Mr. Bristow appointed to this station by the Company, and furnished with the most ample powers and instructions, has not succeeded in recovering the Company's balances, or in acting to the satisfaction of the native administration of the Vizier's country. The Vizier and his Acting Minister have complained against him, and request not only his removal from Oude, but that the English Residency should be entirely withdrawn. Mr. Bristow has, on the other hand, stated the oppositions * he has met with in carrying through the measures which he understood to be recommended to him in his instructions, and he now * states in various representations that unless he is fully authorized and supported by this Government he cannot secure the necessary receipts of money and provisions for the absolute wants of the troops, which the Company have stationed for the protection of the Vizier's country and to prevent evils, the most alarming to the public interest.

* See Mr. Bristow's letters of 13th May, 7th June, 6th June, 30th August, and 14th October.

See letter, 2nd December.

The alternative, therefore, which the Governor-General has stated in his Minute of the 16th December presses for adoption in one way or other. In other words, this Government must effectually resolve to trust to the Vizier's administration for the payment of the Company's claims and the maintenance of their troops in his country, or the Resident must be ordered to exercise the powers of his office, to recover those assignments that have been granted on the Vizier's revenues by making the aumils answerable to the Company for the debt.

As we have approved of Mr. Bristow's management hitherto, and as that approbation has been fully stated upon the Company's records, and as we have further a high opinion of the merits and integrity of Mr. Cooper, nominated by the Company, to succeed Mr. Bristow, we cannot think ourselves justified in assenting to their removal at the request of the Vizier's administration, if the object of that removal was merely a change of agent. On the contrary, the opposition of Hyder Beg Cawn to these gentlemen is, in our opinion, a convincing proof that they have not yielded to that influence which was the ground for removing the former Resident. If, therefore, it should be thought expedient to recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cooper from Oude, and make an experiment of Hyder Beg's agency as proposed in his own and the Vizier's letter received 7th April, we must explicitly declare, for such is our real opinion, that Mr. Bristow has our approbation for his exertions to discharge the duties of his station; that in the event of the Residency being now withdrawn and afterwards restored from a failure on the part of the Vizier's agents, we shall think Mr. Bristow entitled to succeed to the charge of the office and Mr. Cooper to the succession to it as ordered by the Company; and that it will be proper that the Vizier and his Ministers should be informed in the letter to be delivered by Mr. Bristow of these several resolutions of the majority of the Board.

To bring the question at once to issue we think it expedient, in the present situation of affairs, to agree to the recall of Mr. Bristow from Oude with the preceding reservations, and to withdraw the Residency entirely according to the original request of the Vizier and his Acting Minister, provided the present balance due to the Company of * * * * lacs is paid into the Company's treasury by bills on creditable bankers, payable half in one month, and the remaining half in two months from the date of Mr. Bristow's surrender of his office to the Vizier, and provided further that the current kists for the payment of the brigade at Cawnpore and of Sir John Cumming's detachment are paid regularly and monthly by the Minister to the Company's Paymasters in Oude.

We shall agree to this arrangement on the express condition that the Governor-General will hold himself responsible to the Company and the public for the faithfull performance of these engagements on the part of the Vizier and his Minister, as well as for the security of the internal peace of the country, to maintain which and inforce these arrangements we shall give him our utmost support.

Should the Governor-General think this responsibility more than he should undertake, and should he be of opinion that the contest between the Resident's authority and that of the native administration in Oude has already created embarrassment too great for the success of his plan, he leaves no alternative but that of giving the orders of a divided administration to the present Resident to execute the duties of his office, and to consider his instructions from the Governor-General, which are already in his possession, as those of the Board, with any future explanations they may think it necessary to give relative to some Articles of them.

E. W.
J. MacP.
J. S.

28th December 1783.

Governor-General.

I have read with more than common attention the Minute signed by the other Members of the Board and delivered to me this morning.

I sincerely regret the loss of time and of trouble which they have bestowed on the subjects of my Minutes recorded on the 16th instant. Nothing was further from intention or expectation. Possibly my sentiments delivered verbally on the instant occasion which produced them were defective in precision: or possibly their direct meaning has been overlooked in too extensive a consideration of the subject. I had no other design or object than to warn the Board of the dangers which might attend the Company's interests in the Government of Oude, and those of our own provinces in their relation to it, by the irregular and unauthorised power assumed by Mr. Bristow, their Resident, and by the indecision of the Board on the points referred to them, both by the Nabob Vizier and by the Resident himself. I stated to the Board that if it was determined to support Mr. Bristow's pretensions, it was necessary to go further and authorize him to avow the power which he had assumed, and to exercise it in the Company's name; and in that case I desired that my instructions might be withdrawn, and others framed by the Board for his guidance, that the responsibility might rest, as it ought, on them, for the system which had the sanction of their approbation against my judgment, and myself exonerated from it. I conceive that in this requisition I have insisted on nothing which is contrary to reason, or which can be denied me on any ground of reason. I have not in any wise disclaimed the "obligations which bind every member of the Government to adopt and support the resolutions of the majority of its members;" neither have I said that I should "withdraw the support of my name and authority from these measures which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintenance of the Company's interest in Oude." I am sorry that these suppositions have been used in application to me, for I know not what may be the "resolutions of the majority of the Members of the Board," which may require me to acknowledge their obligation on me, nor

"the measures which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintenance of the Company's interests in Oude."

The Board has yet formed no resolutions, no measures. When they shall have formed them, I shall deem them binding on me to give them all the support which my name and authority can give them, but with this reservation, that if they shall be repugnant to my sense of the principles of honor, justice, and public faith, I shall deem the obligation void, and appeal to that power which imposed it for my acquittal; knowing that no power upon earth can impose upon me the obligation of doing what is morally wrong; and conceiving it to be a species of treason to apply it even in the most remote supposition to the high and most respectable authority to which I allude.

As to the seal of the Governor-General or his special correspondence, surely these forms will not be required for the purpose of announcing to the Nabob Vizier the annihilation of his authority and the elevation of Mr. Bristow's in its stead, if such shall be the final determination of the Board, an event which I am warranted by the terms of the Minute before me to suppose. There will be no need to tell the Nabob Vizier in form what will be visible to all the world, and what he, if he has feeling, will be the first to feel and know.

Having thus explained the sentiments which I have before submitted to the Board, and disclaimed the constructions which have been applied to them, I must decline to take upon myself the responsibility which is stated to be required of me in the event of their consenting to remove Mr. Bristow and his assistant, Mr. Cooper. The Members of the Board have furnished me with the most powerful argument, both to refuse it and to justify the refusal by the blank space which they have been obliged to leave in place where the sum ought to be expressed, which was to specify the present balance due to the Company, and one object of my responsibility. This is not an inaccuracy; for the Board know not the present balance which is due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company. It stood at the close of Mr. Bristow's account of 31st October at Rs. 51,25,184-11-2; so what amount it may have since accumulated, I cannot conjecture, for I have no materials; but I believe it impossible for the Nabob Vizier "to pay one-half even of this sum" into the Campany's treasury by bills on creditable bankers, payable in one month, and the remaining half in two more from the date of Mr. Bristow's surrender of his office to the Vizier," "nor" if the Nabob Vizier would engage to pay it, and I believed him capable of paying it, "would I hold myself responsible to the Company and to the public for the faithful performance of such an engagement," because I do not think it consistent with truth or the regard which every man ought to pay to his own reputation to bind himself to the performance of acts which depend solely on the ability and will of another.

It is not my desire that the other Members of the Board should make any concession to my opinions or wishes. They will act as they shall best judge from the superior consideration of the duty which they owe to the honor, credit, and interests of the Company. I only press them to decide, and am sorry that they should hold out to me so desperate an alternative as that which is too plainly indicated in the last paragraph of their Minute, namely, of requiring from me the pledge of a responsibility which I cannot grant, or of leaving the administration of Oude and the Company's interests in it to a state of total indecision, by referring Mr. Bristow for his guidance to instructions which can have no longer any force, and which are in every article contradictory of the system which he has adopted and which the Board have hitherto supported and still manifest their resolution to support.

Before I conclude I shall desire to solicit the recollection of the Board to the great length of time which has elapsed since I first laid before them the complaints of the Nabob Vizier, all tending to shew that Mr. Bristow's acts and pretensions had thrown the Government and country of Oude into a state of weakness bordering on anarchy; and Mr. Bristow himself in his representations of the same subjects has insisted on the same conclusion, but has ascribed it to another cause. It is evident from Mr. Bristow's last letters that the disorders of that State have been greatly augmented, and that the power which he has assumed though unresisted at the Court of the Nabob Vizier has pro-

duced only the spirit of contumacy, revolt, and embezzlement in its dependencies, independently of the public discredit which the English name has suffered by so long a subjection and oppression of the sovereign of the country in alliance with the Company.

This state of affairs has now existed almost twelve months, and it is more than eight since the Board has been acquainted with it. The acknowledged event has demonstrated the danger of leaving it so long without the attempt at least to apply a remedy to it, and a short continuance of the same indecision may render it incurable.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Read the following Minute from MR. WHELER, MR. MACPHERSON, and MR. STABLES.

By Mr. Bristow's accounts of the Lucknow Treasury received yesterday, the balance due the beginning of this month was 53 lacs. We could not imagine nor suggest that the Governor-General should be answerable in his private fortune for so large a sum, or that his responsibility for the payment of it, or for the payment of the current kists, should extend further than those obligations which constitute responsibility in a decided recommendation of any measure contrary to the general opinion of the majority of the Board; such even as the Governor-General has expressed in the close of his Minute, 21st October, wherein he says (speaking of the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility tendered by the Vizier), "*I maintain that we ought to accept this offer.*"

The Governor-General is better acquainted, from his long residence in this country than we can be, with the validity of the bankers' security thus offered by the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers. We wish that security or a better, if it could be obtained, to be lodged in the treasury, before we withdraw the Residency, and we imagine that the declared proposition of restoring the Residency to the charge of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cooper if the Vizier's Ministers fail in their payments, would bind them to a more punctual performance of their engagement.

It will on all accounts be necessary to inform the Vizier and his Minister immediately that the Company's troops in Oude must be paid their arrears, and supplied with provisions. We approve of the Vizier's resolution of restoring the jaghirs, but the Company's claims upon them should be first discharged (if such exist) so that they be restored without incumbrance, and the Resident should in our opinion be directed to concert with the Vizier the best means of discharging Gopal Doss's debt which appears to be in some train of payment. He should be further directed to release the Aumil of Rohilcund after taking proper security for the arrears due by the said Aumil.

These points and others relative to the situation of the Company's interests in Oude we consider to demand the immediate orders of this Government, independent of the complaints against Mr. Bristow upon which we have already given our decision.

If, therefore, the Governor-General will not take upon himself the responsibility which we have stated in our Minute of the 28th instant, and thus more clearly explained relative to the balances due to the Company in Oude, the current kists, and the expedient of withdrawing the Residency, it only remains for us to call upon his support to the orders which we have pointed out in this Minute as necessary to be carried into execution, or to direct the Secretary to inform Mr. Bristow of the resolution expressed in the close of our last Minute, *viz.*, that he is to consider the instructions he has already as those of the Board, and to act under them in the discharge of his duty, informing the Government of the obstructions that impede him in the necessary exercise of it.

E. W.
J. MACP.
J. S.

The Governor-General delivers the following Minute:—

31st December 1873.

I can have no objection to charge myself with the responsibility in the terms of the explanation given of it in the preceding Minute, that is to say, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his Minister to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition expressly annexed of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cooper, and that I will consent to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.

In making this declaration I rely upon the promise of support made to me by the Members of the Board in their former Minute, and I assent to the other conditions of the last.

The state of the Nabob Vizier's dominions will render it necessary to leave the sums of the monthly payments and their ultimate period to future adjustments. I will use my utmost influence to prevail upon the Nabob to regulate them in the manner most favorable to the complete and speedy discharge of the Company's debt, and as he has promised to abide by my recommendation in this business I have no doubt of effecting it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The Board resolve to withdraw the Residency from Lucknow and to confirm the Governor-General's acceptance of responsibility and charge of affairs there as expressed in his last Minute, *viz.*, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his Minister to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cooper, the Governor-General consenting to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.

Agreed that the following letter be written to Mr. Bristow:—

SIR,—Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct since your late appointment to the office of Resident at the Vizier's Court, and though they have resolved in consequence to reserve to you your claim and right to the office of Resident at Oude from the orders of the Hon'ble Company, should the office be deemed hereafter necessary, we have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt, and current kists to the Company on condition that the Residency should be withdrawn from his Court.

To fulfil this condition on our part you will, on receipt of this letter, inform the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers that you and Mr. Cooper and the other gentlemen connected with the Residency are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall; but as the reservation made in favor of your claims to the office of Resident at Lucknow hereafter might, if announced at the Vizier's Court, be an argument with his Ministers for some future objections, you will be pleased to take no notice of this circumstance, which we communicate only for your own satisfaction.

We make no doubt but the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers will afford you every aid to settle the concerns of your Residency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the most amicable manner. The Governor-General will write to them upon this subject, and we trust that, on your part, you will endeavour to connect as much as possible the removal of your present station with good order on the Vizier's affairs. You will deliver over the accounts and necessary papers of your office to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his station, and you and your assistants will return to Calcutta. You will signify our orders to them accordingly.

We are, &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
31st December 1783.

MR. WOMHWELL being at present in Calcutta, ordered that he be directed to repair immediately to Lucknow and to receive charge from Mr. Bristow of the accounts and papers of the Resident's office.

46 F. D. Exd.—B. M.

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Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 20th January to 30th March 1784.

Fort William, the 20th January 1784.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. MACPHERSON, *absent.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 31st ultimo.

TO THE NABOB VIZIER.

After a very full and mature consideration of the state of Your Highness' country government, it has been resolved by myself and the gentlemen of this Council to accept of the offer some time since made by Your Highness of the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the discharge of the balance due from you to the Company, and for the growing payments of the subsidy and other current expenses, on the condition of the recall of Messrs. Bristow and Cowper and withdrawing the Company's Residency from your Court. You will of course see the necessity of taking the most speedy means to obtain such security, and to deliver the same to Mr. Wombwell, who has orders to receive charge of all the papers of Mr. Bristow's office, and to remain for the purpose of keeping the accounts of payments made from your Sircar to the Company, and it is my request that Your Highness will then, and not till then, give to Mr. Bristow leave in form to withdraw. He will accordingly depart and return to Calcutta; and signify our order to Mr. Cowper and the other assistants of his office to the same effect, that they may also return to Calcutta.

WARREN HASTINGS.

MR. MACPHERSON.—I approve of the Governor-General's letter to the Vizier, and I think a copy of it should be sent officially to Mr. Bristow, who will accordingly withdraw from Lucknow when Mr. Wombwell informs him that he has obtained the securities specified. Mr. Wombwell's appointment to the charge mentioned in the Governor-General's letter to the Vizier should be confirmed to him besides his present appointment. A translation of the letter to the Vizier should be sent to the Court of Directors by this dispatch.

J. MACP.

J. S.

Agreed.

E. W.

The foregoing letter to the Vizier having been approved by the other Members of the Board was returned to the Governor-General, and the fair letter

having been received by the Secretary from the Governor-General on the morning of the 6th instant, Mr. Wombwell was immediately dispatched to Lucknow with the letters for the Nabob Vizier and Mr. Bristow.

The Governor-General delivers in the following minute:—

GOVERNOR-GENERAL.—It is with reluctance that I bring before the Board a subject of the greatest importance at a period not ostensibly requiring it, but the necessity of it has been long since foreseen, and not unnoticed in the verbal communications which I have had occasion to make to the Members of the Board.

On the 28th of the last month, while the late arrangement of the concerns of this Government in the Province of Oude was under discussion, I received a letter from my Secretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming representation of the disordered state of that country, and urging the necessity of my repairing to Lucknow for the purpose of giving my personal and early assistance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval.

From other letters, which have been since received from Lucknow upon the same subject, I understand that this was the expressed wish of the Nabob Vizier, his Minister, and all the principal persons of his family and court, and I have great reason to believe that as soon as the Nabob shall have received the notification lately transmitted to him of the last resolutions of the Board, he will declare the same wish in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him.

It is neither consistent with my interest or ease to resign the ordinary transactions of my station, and by accepting the detail of a single and inferior department engaged in a scene of difficulties, some of which derive their origin from natural causes, and may be insurmountable by human exertions; nor am I very anxious to hazard my reputation on the success of so doubtful a service. Yet as the Board has been pleased to commit the affairs of that province in a special manner to my charge, and have given me the most positive assurances of their support to enable me to acquit myself of so weighty a responsibility, I conceive this to be a case which will not allow of my attending to any personal suggestion. My services are at all times and in all cases primarily due to the most important and most urgent calls of this Government. To the importance and urgency of the present exigency are added the obligation of a special trust and engagement, and the pledge of the most powerful aid for my encouragement.

I therefore make this early tender of my services to proceed to Lucknow, whenever I shall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpose of regulating the Company's interests in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like assistance for the regulation of his.

My reasons for thus anticipating the call which I have supposed are many.

I have already premised, which I now repeat in more forcible terms, that I am morally assured of receiving such a call from the Nabob Vizier; and I make no scruple of affirming that I can implicitly rely on the deference which he has ever shewn to my advice, and on his confidence in my justice and good faith, for the most willing co-operation on his part in the measures which I shall recommend for his service, and as prompt and ready a submission to the rights which I may exclusively assert on the behalf of the Company.

The accumulating distresses of that country require preventive, no less than remedial applications. The administration of his Government requires the vigorous exertion of the powers of our own to restore and confirm the authority which has been loosened from it. His revenue requires the superintendency

of officers acknowledging their dependence on their constitutional master, and possessed of credit and characters equal to the responsibility.

The balance of the Company's debt, and its progressive growth, depend for their payment on the same provisions, and the liquidation of our own current and bonded debts, together with the credit of our treasury, equally depend on the early liquidation of that which is due to the Company from the Province of Oude.

The dearth which has been already shewn itself in some severe effects will require the same co-operative aid to remedy so much of this calamity as may proceed from artificial grounded on natural causes.

The Sics, who have been for some time forming in large bodies, and have avowed their designs on the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, require early preparations to meet and repel them; and I have cause to believe that the presence of the executive Member of this Government, supposed to possess the command of all its powers and resources, would contribute much to discourage the attempt, and supersede the necessity of more substantial operations.

Such are the objects of the proposed measure, and the necessity of its early execution is involved in the terms of each, nor is it possible to state them in others which shall exclude it. But to these I must add other considerations derived from my own situations. First, a respect due to the constitutional rights of the individual members of the Board and something due to my own credit, which impel me to bring the question before the Board, while every member of it now present may have an opportunity of giving his opinion upon it, and thereby also to guard myself against the imputation of seeking the advantage of carrying it by my own casting vote. Secondly, the desire which I have to possess the official assistance of Mr. David Anderson, whose weak state of health, derived from a late dangerous illness, has induced him to resolve on a voyage to Europe for his recovery. On intimating to him the possibility of my being called upon this service, and the indispensable call which I should in this case have for his, he cheerfully agreed to yield it to me, and to suspend the engagement for his passage until the latest period requiring it, that he might be at liberty to attend me.

I should be sorry to seem to depreciate the merits of others by an exclusive preference shewn to one, for I know many of the Company's servants who are equal to any trusts that may be reposed in them, many who in talents and integrity are entitled to receive the most public testimony of my esteem and approbation, but I have been long in official habits with Mr. Anderson. I know him. His deposition and manner of thinking agree with my own, and in the peculiar line in which I should wish to employ him there is not another on whom I could so confidently rely. I do not think it reasonable to keep him longer in suspense, and on that consideration alone, were there no other, I would entreat the Board to bring this point to an instant decision.

I repeat that I do not solicit the service which I have offered to undertake, but simply offer it with the most firm determination to hazard every interest that is dear to me in the prosecution of it, if it shall be the option of the Board to assign it to me; and I shall expect in that event to be invested with the full powers of my office, that is to say, such as I have had especially committed to me on similar occasions.

If the Board shall not choose to accept of my offer, I shall rest contented with the complete discharge of my duty in having both made it and used my endeavours to render it effectual.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Ordered, that the Secretary do furnish Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables with copies of the Governor-General's minute and that it lie for consideration.

Fort William, the 3rd February 1784.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. MACPHERSON, *absent from the Presidency for the benefit of his health.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 20th ultimo.

The following minutes from MR. WHELER and MR. STABLES were received on the 23rd ultimo, and communicated to the Governor-General:—

MR. STABLES.—I am sorry that I cannot accept of the Governor-General's offer to proceed to Lucknow. In my opinion the executive member of Government ought to remain at the Presidency, and most particularly at this time when we are in daily expectation of receiving the news of new arrangements from home.

The 21st January 1784.

Minute from Mr. Wheler.

MR. WHELER.—In giving my opinion on the very important question brought forward in the Governor-General's minute of yesterday, it is necessary for me to make a reference to what has passed before upon the subject.

On the 31st December 1783 the Board resolved to withdraw the Residency from Lucknow and to confirm the Governor-General's acceptance of the responsibility and charge of affairs there as explained in the minute agreed to and delivered in by Mr. MacPherson, Mr. Stables, and myself on the same day.

Previous to the resolution the Governor-General represented the necessity which he conceived there was for his repairing to Lucknow, for the purpose of accomplishing those plans which alone could place the Company's concerns in the Nabob's country in a more prosperous state. Against the acceptance of this many difficulties occurred, and in consequence it was after much deliberations mutually and unanimously agreed to decline the acceptance of the Governor-General's tender of his personal services in the Nabob Vizier's country, and this part of the proposal ended in conversation without being entered on our recorded debates; however, in candour, I must acknowledge that no claim was preferred on the one hand to bring forward this question on a future day, nor, on the other, was any attempt made to preclude it should the measure hereafter appear more strongly necessary.

But I flattered myself that in so short an interval as between the 31st December and 20th January no motives more pressing or reasons more urgent than those which had already been brought in argument would have occurred to prompt the Governor-General to the revival of a question of such magnitude as that of his departure from the Presidency at a time when his services here are so essentially required; and I consider myself the more warranted in this hope because no advices can have arrived from Lucknow since the Nabob Vizier received the notification of the resolution of the Board to accept the offer made by himself and his Minister of giving the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company and of the current demands of the year. It is true the Governor-General's visit to Lucknow is said to be the expressed wish of the Nabob Vizier, his Minister, and all the principal persons of his family and Court, and that the same will probably be declared in terms, and be connected with the engagement prescribed to him;

if such be the Nabob Vizier's intention, a very short period of time will be sufficient to enable the Board to receive his requisition in form.

Great merit is certainly due to the Governor-General for his zealous tender of his services on this occasion, which he says are at all times and in all cases primarily due to the most important and most urgent calls of this Government; but in the present terms and circumstances of the question I must beg leave to decline anticipating the necessity which may arise of accepting them in the way they are offered. For I think the presence of the Governor-General at our Board should never be dispensed with but on the most pressing and most important occasions, and I repeat that I deem it at this particular juncture essentially requisite.

But should the Nabob Vizier in his letters to this Government press the assistance of the Governor-General's abilities in forming new arrangements for the internal Government of his country, and the aid of his personal and official influence to carry them into execution, and should state it as a measure absolutely necessary to be adopted for the regulation of his finance and the speedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it also with his acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him; and if the Governor-General shall be of opinion that his services can be more effectual and generally beneficial to the interests of the Company by their being employed in that country than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his station here, I shall not shrink from the additional weight of labor and responsibility which will in that case devolve on me, but shall think myself acting up to the spirit of the minute delivered in by Mr. MacPherson, Mr. Stables and myself in giving the Governor-General this opportunity of acquitting himself of the responsibility he is thereby charged with in the affairs of the Nabob of Oude. This opinion, I hope and trust, will meet with the concurrence of the other members of the Board, and I venture to express a confidence in their hearty co-operation with me during the Governor-General's absence, in discharging the important duties which belong to our Government.

Secret Dept. Fort William, the 17th February 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

EDWARD WHELER, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

MR. MACPHERSON, *absent from the Presidency for the benefit of his health.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

Whereas it has been resolved in Council, on the 31st of December 1783, to withdraw the Residency at Lucknow and to invest the Governor-General with special and separate charge of the Company's affairs and interests in the dominions of the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah on certain conditions therein expressed which have been since fulfilled. And whereas the Board have agreed, upon the invitation of the Nabob Vizier, and in a tender made by the Governor-General of his service in the acceptance thereof, that the Governor-General shall proceed to Lucknow for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his Government; it is hereby resolved that the Governor-General shall be, and is, invested with full power and authority to correct and adjust with the Nabob Vizier the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, of restoring and securing the peace, safety, and honor of his Government, and of promoting the improvement of his revenues; and to support the

Nabob Vizier with the authority of this Government in as full and ample a manner as we can empower him by any Act of Parliament of Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and to take all such measures as he, the Governor-General, shall think necessary for the accomplishment of these ends, and for these purposes, it is hereby agreed and resolved that the Governor-General shall be and is invested with the full power and authority of this Government (so far as we can legally delegate the same) over all the officers, civil and military, stationed or residing within the dominions of the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah and the Province of Benares, but restricted in the exercise thereof, to the dominions of the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah and the Province of Benares aforesaid and to the purposes above recited.

Given in Fort William under the seal of the Hon'ble Company and under the hands of the Governor-General and Council this day of the year of Our Lord 1784.

To Mr. John Wombwell, Lucknow.

Sir,—The Governor-General intending to visit the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, we therefore direct you to obey all such orders and instructions as he may from this time think proper to issue to you in his own name, and in all respects to consider his single authority as of the same force, until this order shall be revoked, as that of the Governor-General and Council collectively.

We are, &c.,

Fort William,
The February 1784.

The same order to be written to Mr. Willis at Farrakabad and to Mr. Francis Fowke at Benares.

To Colonel Gilbert Ironside, Commanding the troops at Cawnpore.

Sir,—The Governor-General intending to visit the dominions of the Nabob Vizier we therefore direct you to obey all such orders and instructions as he may from this time think proper to issue to you, and to the troops under your command, in his own name, and in all respects to consider his single authority as of the same force, until this order shall be revoked, as that of the Governor-General and Council collectively.

We are, &c.,

Fort William,
The February 1784.

The same order to be written to Colonel Sir John Cummings, Commanding the detachment in Rohilkhund and to Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmuty, Commanding the detachment at Chunar.

The Governor-General.—To obviate any misconstructions of the confidence with which I have long since mentioned my expectations of the invitation which is now arrived from the Nabob Vizier, I think it expedient to observe that, independently of my intimate knowledge of the Nabob's general wish upon this subject, his particular desire of a visit from me at this time and for the purposes of the actual occasion has been repeatedly signified to me in my private letters from Lucknow, both from Major Palmer and others, long before I made the first tender of my services in accepting the invitation.

At the time that my letter containing the notification of the resolution of the Board, passed on the 31st December, arrived at Lucknow, the Nabob Vizier had quitted his capital and was on an excursion of pleasure at a distance of a hundred and ten miles from it. By a paper of intelligence delivered to me by his vakeel, Rajah Govindram, and in the possession of the Secretary, I am

informed that such was his impatience to return that he performed the journey in 7 pahars* or 21 hours in a palanqueen and arrived at Lucknow on the 2nd instant without attendants.

For further proofs of the little ground which existed for the use of any indirect means to influence the Nabob in soliciting my presence and assistance, I refer the Board to the accompanying letters which I received the day before yesterday from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell, neither intended most assuredly for public record, nor was it without hesitation that I was induced to insert that of Mr. Wombwell. I could not deny myself the advantage of so strong a testimony both of the point in question, and the utter want of foundation for the assertion so often repeated by Mr. Bristow, that the Nabob was himself indifferent to the transactions which formed the multiplied complaints against the Resident, and that the whole were the fabrication of his Minister without the participation of his will or inclination.

WARREN HASTINGS.

LUCKNOW,
The 2nd February 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,—The Vizier arrived here yesterday after travelling a considerable part of his journey by post. Mr. Wombwell and I paid our respects to him this morning. After perusing your letters presented to him by that gentleman he entered into discourse upon the different subjects of them, and gave the strongest and most unequivocal proof how deeply he was penetrated with a sense of your goodness, and the important benefits which you have obtained for him. He earnestly wishes to see you to make his grateful acknowledgements in person, to request your personal assistance in completing the generous work which you have begun, by establishing the mutual interests and reputation of both Governments upon the most solid foundations. To-morrow he will tell you so himself; and if his writing is as expressive and as forcible as his speech and action, you will be convinced that there is no circumstance which would give him greater happiness than to see you at his capital, and to prove his gratitude by an implicit and cheerful acquiescence in whatever measures you may recommend.

I am greatly concerned that the fine season for travelling will be nearly over before you can set out; the absence of the Vizier has caused an unlucky delay. I thought your visit a point of too much delicacy and importance to be settled whilst he was at a distance, as it would have been impossible for me to have known his real sentiments upon it, and I was determined to decline the invitation if it should appear to be made only as a compliment.

I request, Sir, that you will give me the information of your departure that nothing may be wanting either here or upon the road for your accommodation. The Vizier has not yet intimated to Mr. Bristow his permission to depart, being desirous to avoid every appearance of impatience for his removal, and Mr. Bristow not having yet given in his accounts.

I am, &c.,

W. PALMER.

SIR,—The Nabob arrived last night, and this morning I had the honour of presenting your letters to him. Major Palmer will acquaint you with the expressions of his gratitude—you were his friend—the brother of his father.

They were not lost to me, for he acknowledged his obligations in tears. Permit me to offer my congratulations to you on this happy event.

With the most sincere respect, I am, &c.,

J. WOMBWELL.

LUCKNOW,
The 2nd February 1784.

* Pahar, puhur, H. A division of times a watch or period of three hours or an eighth of the day and night, four to each, whence *dopahar*, two watches, is either mid-day or midnight.—Wilson's "Glossary of Indian terms."

Mr. Stables and Mr. Wheler delivered in the following minute :—

16th February 1784.

Mr. Stables.—I have already given my dissent to the Governor-General's proceeding to Lucknow, and I see no reason to alter it.

With respect to the powers which the Governor-General claims and the orders he desires to be issued to the army and all the Civil Servants beyond the Provinces they are not only in my opinion illegal, but such as if lawful, no Government constituted as this is ought to grant to any individual however respectable.

For these reasons, and for many others that might be enumerated, although I have every respect for the Governor-General, I feel myself in duty bound to protest against granting or affixing the seal of the Company to the proposed commission.

J. STABLES.

The 16th February 1784.

Mr. Wheler.—The Board having invested the Governor-General with a special and separate charge of the Company's affairs and interests in the dominions of the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah, and having agreed to the invitation of the Nabob Vizier; and on a tender made by the Governor-General that he shall proceed to Lucknow for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and in the regulation of his Government, it is further necessary to furnish him with such powers as may enable him to accomplish those objects.

For this purpose it is requisite he should be armed with such authority as will enable him not only to concert and adjust with the Nabob Vizier the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, of restoring and securing the peace, safety, and order of his Government, and of promoting the improvement of his revenue, but also to carry those means into effect by supporting the Nabob Vizier with the authority of this Government in as full and ample a manner as we can empower him to exercise it by any Act of the Parliament of Great Britain now in being or by any of the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, for without full powers to carry into execution such measures as the Governor-General may hereafter plan and agree upon, with the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah, the purposes of his visiting that Prince's country may be defeated, or the season for action lost whilst he is waiting for the sanction of the Board.

It seems also absolutely necessary, for the same reasons, to invest the Governor-General " with the full power and authority of this Government (as far as we can legally delegate the same) over all the officers, civil and military, stationed or residing within the dominions of the Nabob Assoph-ul-Dowlah and the Province of Benares," and when it is remembered that the troops in the Vizier's country are stationed there for the purposes of protecting it, and of aiding and assisting him on all occasions when he shall apply for them, to reduce his subjects to the due obedience of his authority, and are paid out of the Vizier's treasury, it will not seem that the placing them under the orders of the Governor-General as the means of carrying into effect the regulations in the internal government of his dominions, formed and adjusted with the Nabob Vizier himself, is any very extraordinary delegation of power.

The importance of the arrangements to be made in the Government and finances of the Nabob Vizier, and the difficulties that may be expected to be encountered in enforcing them, are such as I should apprehend would justify the Board in delegating to the Governor-General, upon this occasion, as ample powers as have ever been granted to any of their members on any former one, and when it is considered that the extensive powers given to Lord Clive by the instructions of the Select Committee of the 21st June 1765, and those given to Messrs. Cartier, Smith, and Russel, by the instructions of the Select Committee of the 13th September 1768, were in the notice and contemplation of the Parliament at the time the Act was passed which constituted this Government upon its present footing and vested the whole civil and military government

of this Presidency in the Governor-General and Council, in like manner *to all intents and purposes* as the same had been exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee, I should conceive this Government possesses the right of delegating to the Governor-General upon the present occasion as full powers, as those which were granted to Lord Clive by the Select Committee in June 1765 or to Messrs. Cartier, Smith, and Russel in 1768.

But the powers proposed to be granted to the Governor-General by the instructions now before the Board being limited in their objects and confined in their operation to the dominions of the Nabob Vizier and the Province of Benares fall far short of those given to Lord Clive, who, in conjunction with General Camac, was empowered to stipulate such conditions with Shuja-ud-Dowlah, to form such connections with the country powers, and *pursue* such *means* as he should judge necessary to the Company's interests, the public welfare, and the obtaining a safe, honorable, advantageous, and lasting peace.

I am induced for these reasons to give my assent to the proposed draft of the powers and authority to be vested in the Governor-General by the Board.

Resolved that the power and authority proposed to be given to the Governor-General be vested in him accordingly.

The Governor-General has desired the Board to assemble this day for the purpose of receiving his final despatches, having been ordered to leave Calcutta for a change of air a few days before he begins his journey to Lucknow as he has been much incommoded for some days past by a feverish indisposition, of which he still feels the effects, and he proposes, with the permission of the Board, to take his departure for that purpose this evening. He regrets the necessity of his absence from the Board, and most heartily wishes them success and for his own recommends himself to their support.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 24th February 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the dominions of the Nabob Vizier.*

MR. MACPHERSON, *absent from the Presidency for the benefit of his health.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 18th instant.

Read the following letter from MR. BRISTOW:—

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to acquaint you that I this day received my audience of leave from His Highness the Nabob Vizier.

To anticipate calamity is an invidiously irksome task; yet before I retire from the Court of Oude I am strongly called upon by duty, and perhaps not ill-qualified by experience to suggest to the Hon'ble Board the probable consequences of my removal. It is the last important obligation of the trust reposed in me, and I shall acquit myself of it with fidelity.

Much as I lament the unprosperous issue of an enterprize which in its success would have been so honourable to me, my sensibility of it is unmixed with any painful consciousness. I have done my duty, and your applause, gentlemen, as it is the best testimony, is also the best reward of my laborious endeavours in the public service.

Appointed to the arduous work of reformation, I found in Hyder Beg Cawn an antagonist of irresistible strength, over whom it was impossible I should simply prevail, who in the extensive influence derived from his wealth, in the universal terror inspired by his authority, in the slavish subserviency and more than puerile weakness of the Prince his master, possessed a power of resistance which I long since foresaw, and long since foretold, would render equally vain

the continued exercise of all my firmness and every caution of my understanding.

To restore the Sovereign to his dignity, to curb the ambition of his Minister, to correct the disorders and abuses of his Government, were the salutary and important objects of my designation at the Court of Oude. Their accomplishment would have established the English influence over these once rich and flourishing provinces on a basis of more stability than any we had yet owned—an interest in the hearts of the people acquired and confirmed through the blessings they derived from us.

The triumphant opposition of Hyder Beg Cawn has defeated a purpose so full of wisdom and humanity; but the attempt, I am well assured, has left an indelible impression of fear and hatred upon his mind; delivered at last from the hateful presence of your representative and invested with the virtual sovereignty of the Vizier's dominions, all the activity, all the malevolence of his heart and understanding will be called forth and exerted to confirm his independence and to gratify his revenge.

In the uniform experience of years, in the consistent iniquity and mismanagement of the Minister, we find an elaborate instruction directing us with unerring certainty to the future fate of Oude and of our friends.

It is most foreign from my intention to arraign the wisdom or to dispute the decrees of Government; but I obey the dictates of truth and duty in declaring that I cannot imagine a conjuncture of more imminent and apparent danger to the interests of my employers, or to the honour of my country. The first I consider as inseparably connected with the prosperity of Oude; the last will receive a mortal wound, should those be abandoned by us who in their services and attachment have a sacred claim to our protection. From the exercise of despotic authority by such a character as the Minister, what is indeed to be hoped but the most ruinous abuse of it? From a reliance on the clemency of Hyder Beg Cawn, what milder doom than death or confiscation? Suffer me, gentlemen, in affirmance of the melancholy propriety of these reflections to refer to your own opinions—to your own expressive language. I transwrite them from the instructions I received through the Hon'ble the Governor-General shortly after my appointment; delineating the former conduct of the Minister with a truth and precision that will not be disputed, they furnish the most undesirable evidence of the peril of confiding in him, and render an appeal to any other testimony equally superfluous and impertinent. I shall therefore pass in silence over a thousand superadded examples, all strongly characteristic of the principles and policy of Hyder Beg Cawn, which have recurred during the interval that has since elapsed, and which like those I am now about to lay before you constitute a perpetual record of his contempt for your authority, of his insolence, ambition, and rapacity.

"Immediately on your arrival sound the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable; till within these three months when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed without control both the unparticipated and entire administration; with all the powers annexed to that Government; the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be, in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority, yet he has dared both to use the Nabob's name and even his seal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our Government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations, such as the resumption of the jaghirs and the seizure of his father's treasure which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum, his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar; on every occasion of this kind the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the Minister's pretension. I must, therefore, have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that Government." Again—"It may be advisable to try him (the Minister) by the mode of conciliation in your first conversation with him, at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him in the plainest

terms the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismission and a scrutiny into his past conduct if he refuses it. In the first place I will not receive from the Nabob as his, letters dictated by the spirit of opposition, but shall consider every such attempt as the Minister's as an insult on our Government. In the second place I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character but with your knowledge and participation." Again, speaking of Almass Ally Cawn: "It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the subsequent negociations which passed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which resemble more a treaty between equal States than a transaction between a sovereign and his vassal, have all passed without the least communication or report of them made to me by the Resident or his Assistant, or the Minister; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the Minister has had the presumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be false and without foundation, and to affirm that every part of his dominions enjoyed the most perfect peace and tranquillity; upon this subject the behaviour of the Minister is so reprehensible that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my sentiments of it. It will at least shew him how thin the veil is by which he covers his own acts, and that such artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal from the falsehood and duplicity with which they are associated. As for Almass Ally Cawn himself, the policy which has been observed towards him has been scandalously derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and interest, and hurtful to the representative of our Government, so far as it is connected, or the world will think it connected with it." Lastly—"the Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he suffers in his authority by the usurpation of the Company's Resident, and has repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance shall be completely discharged, and he may be freed from this vexation, that he may be permitted to pay the subsidy in ready money, and that the assignments which have been granted to satisfy that demand may be restored to him. I confess that I did myself give encouragement to this proposition, knowing at the same time the quarter from whence it came, I mean from Hyder Beg Cawn, and willing to exonerate this Government from the trouble and responsibility, and the Company from the disgrace of whatever might attend the administration of the Nabob's Government, I thought, too, that it presented a sure prospect of the regular payment of the current demands by the penalty which would attend the failure in the resumption of the former system of assignments, and in the personal claims which it would bring on the Minister. But his misconduct has since manifested itself in so many particular instances, besides the universal disorder of the country, and this is so alarming in its effects to our own Government, that I shall hesitate until I have the surest and most satisfactory grounds to recommend an acquiescence in such a measure. At present the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at some distance, for, while I am writing these instructions, fresh circumstances occur to my knowledge which make me much suspect the real payment of the sums brought to the Nabob's credit for the last year's balance. It may not, however, be amiss to talk with the Minister on this subject, to let him know that it is well understood to be a demand for substituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to invest him with the sovereignty of the Nabob's dominions, to ask him whether he shall, in such case, expect the Company's protection, and if he does, by what claim of right, and whether, in the event of involving our Government in a new scene of hostilities by those which his maladministration may produce, whether internally or by invasion, in that country, he shall think himself in justice exempt from the personal vengeance which we may be disposed to exact from him. At all events the proposition must be discouraged till a safer season for its acceptance, but the absolute rejection of it eleded with the Nabob, if he shall himself renew it."

I have the honour, &c.,

J. BRISTOW.

LUCKNOW,
The 8th February 1784.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 23rd March 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT :

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

The GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 18th instant.

Read the following letter from the Governor-General :—

GENTLEMEN,—I opened and forwarded from Buxar the day before yesterday a letter from the President and Select Committee at Bombay, dated the 28th January, which I am desirous of associating with the observations which struck me while I read it, but the want of leisure from the frequent interruptions of civilities to which I am compelled to yield much of my time, and the dissipation unavoidable in a state of continued motion prevented me. I now beg leave to offer my sentiments upon it, hoping that if they shall agree with yours, they may arrive in time to be transmitted with whatever you may think proper to add to the Court of Directors by the last despatches. Indeed, something is necessary to guard against or to efface the impression which such representations as are contained in that letter, and which the same disposition of mind will no doubt have dictated in their letters to the Court of Directors, may make on the minds of the Company.

We are reproached by the Presidency of Bombay in very harsh terms with a total inattention to their commercial interests and the safety of their allies, in the powers and instructions which we have given to the Presidency of Fort St. George, and with having "treated them with a pointed neglect in almost all matters wherein their dearest interests have been concerned." Nay it is imputed to us as a criminal omission that we did not enjoin them to assist the Commissioners of Fort St. George with their advice and instructions, as if they themselves were unable to act from the dictates of their own duty or required the spur of our instigation to awaken them to a sense of their own interests.

I am sorry that I cannot revert to the instructions which were given to the Presidency of Fort St. George, nor recollect the precise date on which they were written. This I know that they contained nothing which forbade them from including the commercial interests or political relations of Bombay in their negociations; and if I recollect it was made a part of the instructions given by the Select Committee of Fort St. George to their Commissioner to correspond with the Presidency of Bombay for that purpose. We were not in possession of materials for directing a negociation of this kind, for we know not, nor had the Presidency of Bombay ever intimated to us, what were the precise objects or provisions which they were desirous of including in the treaty with Tippoo Sultan, nor the claims or even the names of their allies for whose safety they were desirous of our becoming guarantees in it. But however anxious they may have been for the attainment of the former, I presume that with the fullest knowledge of it our Board would not have deemed itself warranted to embarrass the negociations with the absolute assertion of such claims, all our pretensions and expectations having been bounded as they certainly ought to be by the 9th Article of the Treaty of Salbai, so that we referred the Presidency of Fort St. George for the ultimate extent of our demands, allowing them the exercise of their own discretion for obtaining such additional advantages as the situation of affairs might throw in their way without a hazard of defeating the pacification, and with a positive injunction to yield nothing to which we have reserved a positive right in the Mahratta treaty.

If I have erred in this recapitulation your records will enable you to state it with more accuracy, but I am clear that I am materially right. Were I to

speak my private opinion of the general effect of multiplied establishments of trade and especially of such as are proprietary, I might hazard an opposition of popular prejudices and opinions sanctified by long and common usage. But I believe I may with safety appeal to the accounts in the Company's own possession, as I am sure I can to the judgement of the merchants of India, for the little utility of which our late property in the Town and District of Broach has proved to the Company's investment, or the freedom of trade in that articles of which it was the great mart in India.

But whatever may be the importance of this subject our instructions left the Commissioners in as full a liberty to receive the application of the Presidency of Bombay, and that Presidency in the same possession of the means of making and enforcing their requisitions regarding it, as we could have done by specific and immediate injunctions from ourselves, and the same may be affirmed of the protection due to their Malabar allies.

Another article of reproach is marked with something too like the spirit of ingratitude, as it is most notoriously unjust; they state the magnitude of their bonded debt, and the enormity of their military charges as ready to oppress them with their weight unless they are speedily relieved from Bengal; they complain of our withholding the supplies so necessary to their existence, notwithstanding their avowed ability to load three ships this year with an investment for England, and they summon us to declare whether we will, or will not, assist them, that they may not be kept longer in suspense, but provide accordingly if the state which they have given us of their distresses is "insufficient to influence" our determination in their favour, or we are either unable or unwilling to assist them beyond the supplies we have promised to afford them.

May I request, gentlemen, that you will be pleased to transmit to the Court of Directors, by the present despatch if it be not too late, an account of all the remittances which have been made to Bombay annually since the commencement of the war to the present period. Such an account has been always sent home except that of the present year, yet it will be better to repeat it than trust to a reference, and it will be a complete refutation of the charge of that Presidency against us on this account; instead of making it the ground of a formal complaint that our supplies are less liberal than they were, it ought to be a matter of surprize that the sources which yielded them, and which have flowed at the same time in larger streams to Fort St. George have not been long since wholly exhausted. Could the spirit of Lord Clive re-visit Bengal and be told what exertions it had made for the assistance and protection of the other Presidencies, without abating of its exports to Great Britain, he would find his knowledge enlarged, as it was unequal to the reception of a position so incompatible with the state in which he left the revenue of these Provinces and the Treasury of Calcutta, and he would pronounce the fact in defiance of our records impossible.

I cannot at this distance offer an opinion of the extent to which we may be able to furnish Bombay with money during the present season, but to a large extent I am morally certain that we cannot without infinite distress to our own Government, and a degree of great danger through the failure, not of credit, but of specie. Since they have demanded a peremptory declaration to this effect I see no cause why it should be withheld from them. To what can be spared from our own necessities they have certainly the first claim, and something even beyond our own wants if the war with Tippoo is renewed.

I read with much concern a proposal deliberately made and early transmitted to the Court of Directors for maintaining a large military establishment in Bombay at the perpetual charge of the Provinces of Bengal, for the purpose of being at all times prepared for offensive wars; and the vicinity of the Mahratta territory, and the short distance of its capital, are alleged as the principal ground of the proposal. In my judgment there are better grounds for rejecting it, and confining the views of that Presidency to a permanent state of peace by a restriction of their military strength to such a degree of it as should disable them to break the peace, rather than by a ready provision for war to furnish the temptation to it on one hand, and provoke it on the other by the apprehension of it.

I trust that the wisdom of the Hon'ble Company will at once see the danger and bad policy of such a design which, were it practicable as it is not, would be as wicked and unnatural an abuse of the power which God has given us over the inhabitants of Bengal, who are at least entitled to so much of our protection, as to assure to them the natural benefits of their own patrimony where the plea of necessity cannot be urged to depriving them of it, as it would be surely weak in the members of this Government to countenance a project which in the very attempt would draw ruin on the first interests of the Company, which are those of their own charge, and on their reputations from the same consequences, for the sake of empowering a dependent member of the general state to go to war whenever the caprice, ambition, or worse passions of its eventual rulers should prefer it to the duration of that peace, which has been so reiteratedly enjoined by the first powers of our sovereign state and which we have with so much solicitude and difficulty obtained. I hope I shall not be suspected of glancing by this reflection on the present rulers of that Government. Nothing is further from my thoughts, and I detest insinuation. I mean only to draw a conclusion from a system of permanent duration and from the expressed principle of its construction. The application involves a period indefinitely remote and every successive change by which men of various characters may be introduced into the Administration, and the consequence which I have drawn is in that sense inevitable.

I am heartily sorry for the occasion which has compelled me to make these observations, and the more so as it has arisen at a period in which the reverse might have been expected from the character of the gentleman who has recently succeeded to the first seat in the Government of Bombay, and to whose zealous assistance in the course of the late war this Government has been greatly indebted and has acknowledged its obligations.

Strange is the fatality which has attended all the operations of this Government, for they have been all invariably directed during an uninterrupted period of six years to the service and even the salvation of the other Presidencies without any interest of its own concerned in the event of them, and all their return has been opposition, complaint, reproach, insult, and invective. You, gentlemen, will know how to separate these terms and apply them to their proper relatives.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

ZEMANEEA,
The 10th March 1784.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 47 F. D.—29-6-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 13th April to 30th June 1784

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 13th April 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

JOHN STABLES, ESQ., *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 30th ultimo.

Read the following letter from the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, enclosing a copy of the treaty of peace which was signed and interchanged between their Commissioners and Tippoo Sultan on the 11th of last month.

Fort St. George, 27th March 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—We have had the honour to receive your several letters, the last of which is of the 4th instant, with several enclosures, to the former of which we shall reply hereafter. At present we shall only speak of the more pressing business before us.

We have the pleasure to send you herewith a copy of the treaty * of peace which was signed and interchanged between our Commissioners and Tippoo Sultan on the 11th instant. We shall not attempt to bespeak your approbation of this treaty by detailing the events of the war, the difficulties and expenses which have attended its progress, the comparative situation of the parties at the time of its conclusion, and the particular embarrassment attending the negotiation. As you are fully acquainted with most of these circumstances, we shall submit the articles of the peace without any comment from ourselves to your candid consideration and judgment.

You will observe by the 10th Article it is agreed that the treaty shall be signed and sealed by the English Commissioners and a copy of it shall afterwards be signed and sealed by the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George and returned to the Nabob Tippoo Sultan Behadre in one month or sooner if possible, and the same shall be acknowledged under the hands and seals of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal and the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay as binding upon all the Governments in India, and copies of the treaty so acknowledged shall be sent to the said Nabob in three months or sooner if possible.

We request that you will be pleased to send us a copy of the treaty acknowledged by you in the manner specified in the 10th Article, and that you will also write to the gentlemen of Bombay desiring them to perform what is required of that presidency by the same article; we are anxious to obtain these acknowledgements so that they may be sent to Tippoo within the time limited by the treaty. We are indeed sensible that such forms are superfluous, but as Tippoo, notwithstanding the explanations that have been given him, is not sufficiently apprized of the constitution of the different presidencies, and seems not to understand how the whole can be bound by the act of one, we trust that the mode he has stipulated for the certification of the treaty will meet with no objection or difficulty.

FORT ST. GEORGE, *27th March 1784.* We have the honor, &c.,

(Signed) President and Council.

* This Treaty will be found in the revised edition of Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. V, page 263.

P.S.—Since writing the above we have received advice that Messrs. Staunton and Huddleston had embarked on board the *Morning Star* at Mangalore to proceed in her hither. Mr. Sadlier and the detachment returned by land and escort the prisoners.

Read the following letter and its enclosures from the Hon'ble the Governor-General.

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated 15th March.

GENTLEMEN,—Herewith I have the honor of transmitting to you the report which Mr. Turner has delivered to me of his embassy to Thibet, which will explain to you the steps which he has already taken to procure a licence from the Regent in that part of the country which is subject to the Teesho Lama for the natives of Bengal to transport their goods thither, and establish an intercourse of trade.

When I have more leisure I shall detail my sentiments at large upon this subject and the future benefits which may reasonably be expected from the proposed plan; in the mean time I refer you to the report itself, from the perusal of which I hope you will derive as much pleasure as it has afforded me.

BENARES,
15th March 1784.

I have the honor, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Turner's narrative, enclosed in the Governor-General's letter of 15th March.

HON'BLE SIR,—Being returned from the service on which you were pleased to direct me to proceed, I take the earliest opportunity of communicating the progress and result of my commission, in hope my conduct will be judged with the indulgence due to a limited experience, and the novelty of the regions I was commanded to visit.

I will not presume to engage your time by a treatise on the ancient state of Thibet, or as unimportant a detail of the peculiar manners and customs of the people, but beg leave to follow my predecessor in enumerating such events as have happened subsequent to his return to Bengal, and which seem connected with or in their nature calculated to affect your designs in this quarter.

At the time of Mr. Bogle's deputation Thibet was in a state of perfect tranquility, Teesho Lama exercising the functions of his office, respected and obeyed through all the region of Tartary, nor was his influence bounded but by the limits of the extensive empire of China. The Tartars who live in tents, the natives of Kilmaak and of Kumbaak, continually resorted in multitudes to pay their adoration at his shrine. Even Taranauh and Delai Lama held him in so great deference and respect that their votaries looked up to him as the head and protector of their faith.

The sanctity of his character and the wisdom of his administration so far diffused his reputation and exalted his name that the Emperor of China, anxious to see so renowned a personage, repeatedly solicited him to make a visit to his Court. The Lama would have excused himself but he could not evade the importunity of the Emperor, who had made the most magnificent preparations for his journey and reception. He accordingly set out and (from the testimony of all his people) with extreme reluctance, but he arrived in safety in China, was received with the highest respect, and even the Emperor himself advanced from his capital to meet him.

During his residence at the Emperor's Court, both his brother, the Raja who was with him, and Soopoon Choomboo, his favorite and cup-bearer, assure me that he was not unmindful of his connection with the Government of Bengal, but took several occasions of representing in the strongest terms particularly the amity subsisting between the Governor-General and him, and that his conversations had even influenced the Emperor to resolve upon commencing, through the Lama's mediation, a correspondence with his friend; and such was

the confidence and esteem which the Emperor manifested for Teesho Lama that he promised a full compliance with whatever he should ask, yet in this instance the Emperor's liberality did not exceed the Lama's humility of heart, for he preferred no great demand, and even declined the acceptance of an addition to his territory, reserving alone the requisition that the Emperor would cause the administration of the different governments, as had been anciently the custom of Thibet, to be restored to the Lamas; that they might be invested with all the powers which in their respective stations they had severally enjoyed; and particularly that he himself might be at liberty to grant admission into Thibet to whom he chose, to which the Emperor consented, and to the end that his authority might be complete caused his own seal to be delivered to Teesho Lama, and steps were taken for the recall of the Raja appointed by the Court of China to reside at Lhassa.

The honors and distinction paid to Teesho Lama in China raised the wonder and admiration of all ranks of people, and it is said the jealousy of some. At this interval it happened that in the plenitude of his influence and power he was seized suddenly with a violent disorder which after three days terminated in his death.

I will not enlarge on the accession to the respect paid to his character that would have been derived from the honors done him in China, and the homage paid him by the inhabitants of the countries he passed through had he returned in safety to Thibet, but beg leave to observe that the accident which prevented the deputation proposed of Mr. Bogle, and the untimely end of Teesho Lama, were events almost equal to annul all former endeavours to effect an intercourse, and to occasion a revival in the minds of the Thibetans, naturally averse to innovation, of their distrust, and an interruption of the growing confidence with which they had been so successfully inspired. Yet in some measure to compensate for these losses the death of Gesub Kimbochay opened a new prospect of the probability of obtaining the communication aimed at, for he was a violent enemy to an intercourse with the English, and of an active, turbulent disposition, but the expectations formed from this event were defeated by his successor, who took his place with equal prejudices, and studying the disposition of the people has had a view to establish himself by a conformity in his conduct to popular prejudices, knowing that the time of his authority is limited and uncertain. Add to which he has conceived a great degree of jealousy and animosity against the Government of Teesho Loomboo in consequence of Teesho Lama's negociations in China, through which he was well nigh being displaced from his power. Mindful of these transactions he neglects no occasion that offers of thwarting the designs of this Government.

Since the subjection of Thibet to the Chinese yoke, the influence of the Lamas, who were once supreme, has been much weakened by the appointment of an officer to reside at Lhassa, the capital of the kingdom, who is invested with the government and superior control over the country. The cause which first suggested the expediency of placing such a check over the Lamas exists no more. The present Emperor, a votary of their faith and naturally jealous of their dignity, seems persuaded of this truth in the conviction of their attachment to his person and acknowledgement of the supremacy of the Chinese Government.

The negotiations of the Teesho Lama confirm this opinion, who obtained a promise from the Emperor to withdraw the officer of his appointment from Lhassa, and to commit the government of the country to the management of the Lamas. Orders were consequently issued for the recall of Nimoheim, who succeeded Gesub Kimbochay, but the decease of Teesho Lama occasioned their suspension. However, as the term of Raja Nimoheim is to cease soon after Teesho Lama is seated on the musnud, it is then expected that the renewal of his application to the Emperor will be followed by the complete performance of the promises made to him in China, and that Delai Lama and himself will be invested accordingly with the uncontrolled rule of the country, and that the influence of these religious pontiffs will rise to its former splendour and importance.

I will not venture to advance surmises on the probability of the Emperor's consenting to a point so important as this in view, but perhaps I shall be

excused in repeating the opinion of those more competent to judge of the Emperor's disposition from the circumstance of having resided a twelvemonth at his Court. I mean the late Lama's brother, Raja Punjun Irtinnee, and his confident Soopoor Chomboo, who entertain not the shadow of a doubt that the Emperor will recede from his word, but assure me of their belief that he will ratify the promises made to the former Teesho Lama the moment the present is capable of renewing the application, and that the proposed regulations will immediately take place. The success of your projects is too obviously connected with this event to need a comment.

If Teesho Lama is made to resume the plans projected by him in his preexistence for the recovery of the prerogatives annexed to the office of the Lamas, the same consistency of conduct will prompt a retrospection to the negotiations of 1775, to the proposal of a free intercourse of trade between Thibet and Bengal, which coincided with his desires, and which seem to have been the motive and ultimate object of his solicitude for an extension of privilege.

I am aware it will be demanded why the agents of Government under Teesho Lama were not dismissed with the promised powers? And this I think may be answered by the consternation and confusion in which his sudden death involved all his attendants and deprived them of the ability of pursuing effectual measures, if in reality there were such, to obtain the accomplishment of his plans. But I believe the fact is they were incompetent from being merely the agents of Teesho Lama; while living they rightly reflected that their intercession with the Emperor would have little weight; when their superior was no more prudence enjoined their silence. Probably their nearest concern was a speedy return to Thibet, fearful lest the great event should produce a revolution in the Government injurious to their interests, or subversive of their power. If they were deterred from personal application to the Emperor when present at his Court, other considerations have since actuated them to suspend awhile further interference, which can only be urged with propriety and effect by Teesho Lama, who they say at the age of two years will be qualified to assert the proper means for accomplishing the design.

I have found in the Raja the best disposition for encouraging and assisting by the authority he possesses the plans of trade, but neither is able or so confident as the Lama. He is backward to espouse a party by which he might possibly incur some inveterate enemies in the Chinese administration.

Teesho Lama, from his respectable character and superior talents, was peculiarly well qualified to obviate popular prejudices against new schemes, to reconcile the Thibetans to an alliance with Europeans, and to remove the jealous apprehensions which more or less dwell with every Asiatic State from the accumulating power of the English.

Tartary until united under the Chinese dominion, having been constantly vexed by foreign invasion, civil feuds, and intestine broils, and subjected by these to all the changes of violent commotion, its inhabitants are intimidated from entering into new connections, and regard every innovation, as affording an inlet to devastation and war. Used by successive revolutions to subjection and submission, the powerful principle of independence is extinguished, and they are fitted to be the abject slaves of despotic tyranny, without firmness to assert the rights of the people, and without resolution to resist the encroachments of the influence of an exotic yoke however weakly enforced.

Under less authority than the sanction of a Lama your plans cannot be pushed to any great extent. They were first taken up by a man who dared to deviate from the narrow dictates of obedience, who could lead the affections of his subjects, and who was urged to extensive connections as well by an attention to the interest of those over whom he ruled as the impulse of ambition. Such was Teesho Lama, and his successor will doubtless assume the office with strong prepossessions in his favor, and he will, I expect, be made to feel, and to be actuated by the pride of being generally acknowledged to have first encouraged in his pre-existence and to have perfected in his regeneration a plan designed for universal benefit.

The Raja's letter will, I presume, be the best criterion by which to judge of his dispositions. Yet it may be observed that in receiving me at this time into the country he has acted rather according to his private sentiments than the wishes of the leader of the opposite party. Delai Lama has not been averse to my admission, but there hangs a bias on the Government, an intrinsic weight that turns it from its natural course, and hinders it from the pursuit of its interests and inclinations.

Thibet has from time immemorial been a resort for merchants. Necessity has begot a commerce with foreign countries, which, however, is but languidly conducted by a people naturally of a slothful disposition. The soil and climate favorable to the production of few commodities render it a proper field for mercantile projects to succeed in, but an example of industry is wanting, and when men once become acquainted with the pleasures of luxury and the profits of commerce, it will rouse them from their apathy, and presenting them with objects of opulence and ease, which they never before dreamt of, raise in them a desire of a more splendid way of life than their ancestors enjoyed, and stimulate them to an improvement of their natural resources which at present are even by themselves but imperfectly understood.

The form of government, which is arbitrary, is inimical to industry and enterprize, both in Thibet and Bhootan. The first member of the State is the chief merchant, and his prerogative in this capacity stands him in great stead, for he is invested by it with advantages above the common adventurer in the right of commanding the labor of the people, whom the laws compel to bear burdens, and otherwise exert themselves in the public service when called upon by the mandate of the Chief. Hence emulation is suppressed; and the concerns of trade monopolized by the ruler, and a few persons in the first offices under Government, who are indulged with a limited privilege; and their traffic is chiefly confined to clothing and provisions, such articles as are in constant demand and find a quick sale.

Though the country of Thibet is gifted with a soil in its greatest extent unimprovable by cultivation, and though its features are expressive of poverty and sterility, yet whatever is wanting to the people from a defect in fertility or the skill of their artists, they possess ample resources of obtaining through the abundant riches of the earth, and their mines and minerals open to them such productive beds of wealth as to be alone sufficient to purchase every thing they stand in need of, and those wants are or are *not* numerous, as they are ignorant of all but the first arts of life, agriculture, and clothing.

The benefits resulting from this trade were once greatly in favor of Bengal. The commotions and disturbances by which the kingdom of Nipal was long distracted, until its ultimate subjugation under one Chief, by destroying the security interrupted the commerce between Thibet and Bengal; and that country being then the only known channel of communication, Bengal, during the interval, lost ground in trade, and it has been since found difficult to regain it.

The advantages arising from the present limited commerce are enjoyed by a few opulent Gossains, and an agent residing at Teesho Loombo on the joint concern of Cashmeree Mull and Gopaul Doss. I beg leave to refer to the annexed paper for a statement of the articles composing it. The returns have been invariably made in gold-dust, silver, tinkal, and musk: the value of gold and silver in Thibet is very variable, depending on the product of the former from the mines. At this time a pootree of gold-dust sells for twenty-one indermillees. A few years ago during the prevalence of an excessive drought the earth, cracking and opening in uncommon chasms, discovered, as they relate, such abundance of gold that the quantity collected reduced the value of a pootree to nine indermilles. As these precious metals are merely representatives of labor and commodities there will consequently follow great fluctuations in the profits of commerce, which, however, will at all times be found on the side of the merchant.

Of next importance in trade amongst the natural productions of Thibet are the articles musk, tinkal, wool, and rock-salt.

The first of these articles used to be transported through the country of the twenty-four Rajahs, and through Nipal by the way of Benares into the upper parts of Hindoostan, and the dominions of the Mahrattas, but as musk of late has gained reputation in medicine, and as there is reason to believe none but what is much adulterated finds its way to Europe, it doubtless must be a desideratum with the Faculty to receive it in its native purity.

Bhootan, Nipal, Bengal, and Indoostan are now supplied with tinkal from Thibet. Its value is little more there than that of the labor of a man in digging it from the bed of a lake in which it is deposited, about fifteen days' journey from Teesho Loombo.

The wool of the goats is carried to Cashmere, and is that superior sort from which shawls are manufactured.

The demand for salt is in the consumption in Nipal and Bhootan.

Here are several mines of lead, but as it is a metal that enters not into their utensils of life, and is of little use in the country, they are totally neglected. As lead is generally found containing a less or greater mixture of silver, and as there is but one mine of this metal known in Europe to be entirely free from it, it is at least not improbable that the lead ores of Thibet are rich in silver, and that the melting of them for the silver, the manner of doing which the natives are altogether ignorant of, might be attended with very great advantages.

Here are also mines of cinnabar which they only use for coloring in paint, but which contains a great proportion of mercury, that they know not how to extract.

The copper mines furnish materials for the manufactory of idols, and all the ornaments disposed about the monastery on which guilding is bestowed.

A very small quantity of specie and that of a base standard is current in Thibet. It is the silver coin of Nipal here termed indermillee. Each is in value and worth about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a rupee sicca, and they are cut into $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ths. This, which is the only money, serves to obtain the exigencies of life, but never enters into material contracts, or extensive concerns of trade; in all such transactions the equivalent is made in bullion, that is in talents of gold and silver which bears a value in proportion to its variety.

The commerce of traffic between Thibet and China is carried on principally at a Chinese garrison town on the west frontier of China named Sinoring or Silling; thither merchants resort from Thibet with their woollen manufacture, a thin cloth resembling fuze but rather of a more open texture, and some other commodities procured from Bengal which they exchange for tea, silver, bullion, brocades, and fruits. In these articles a great trade is driven, and I have been assured that in the territory of Teesho Loomboo alone to the amount of 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees worth of tea is annually consumed. From hence, too, Bhootan is supplied with tea, which is in the same general use there. For the further particulars of the commerce with Thibet I beg leave to refer to the annexed comparative statement.

Studious to insure by every possible means the success of my deputation, I was extremely desirous when so near Lhassa of proceeding thither to endeavour to conciliate the good dispositions of the chiefs in power towards our nation, and to obtain their sanction to a communication and free intercourse between Thibet and Bengal, but I was prevented by the present posture of that Government, and dissuaded by Raja Punjun Irtinnee from making the attempt. He has promised to inform himself of the sentiments and wishes of Delai Lama in regard to a connection with the English, which he will afterwards communicate.

Whenever a regular intercourse takes place between the agents of the Government of Bengal and the Chiefs of Thibet, I shall consider it as the sure basis of an intercourse with China, and it will be by the medium of the former that we shall be enabled to arrive at Pekin.

I have not eagerly urged those secondary advantages that offered themselves to my choice, because I would not by enclosing any defective scheme

render the endeavours towards carrying into execution the important object of your plan abortive, which I conceived to be an immediate intercourse between the English and the natives of Thibet.

I have obtained Raja Changoo Choosod's promise of encouragement to all merchants, natives of India, that may be sent to traffic in Thibet on behalf of the Government of Bengal. Nothing now therefore remains in the way of marchants to prevent them from carrying their commercial concerns into Tartary. Your authority alone is requisite to ensure them the protection of the Raja of Teeshoo Loomboo, who has promised to grant free admission into Thibet to all merchants, natives of India, who shall come recommended by you, to yield them every assistance requisite for the transport of their goods from the frontier of Bhootan, and to assign them a place of residence for vending their commodities either within the monastery, or, should it be considered more eligible, in the town.

I did not deem it consistent with the spirit of your designs at the present period to sue for greater privileges to native traders. Such as I have obtained will, I trust, be competent to the purpose of opening the wished-for communication, and as this mode exactly coincided with the Raja's wishes, it appeared to me better to adopt it than check the unfolding trade with a load of taxes and embarrassing forms. Let merchants first learn the way, taste the profit, and establish the intercourse, afterwards the traffic may bear a tax, which laid upon it in its infancy might have suppressed its growth.

These concessions, which the Raja readily acquiesced in, will, I presume, be considered the most material towards reviving the trade between Bengal and Thibet; for as security and protection are the first essentials to the establishment of commerce, so profit will prove the best encouragement and become a spur to the merchant engaged in so advantageous an undertaking impelling him to pursue his plans to the greatest possible extent.

To the proposed license nothing but form is wanting, and independently of the novelty of written treaties, formalities almost unknown in Thibet, I desisted from soliciting the Raja to execute such an agreement because it could be no longer valid than during the minority of Teesho Lama, revokable by him the moment he should be inducted into his office, and could never be considered binding upon the Government which is upheld by his authority and conducted under the sanction of his name.

The Raja possesses no independence, but is the ostensible instrument of administration under the guidance of his supreme, the Lama. But even supposing the Raja, possessed of an adequate authority to enforce a treaty of commerce, to have pressed him to the conclusion of one, I thought would be abandoning the great object in view, for I considered the agency of the natives of India stationed at so remote a distance from control, or any check to regulate their conduct, as a very dubious reliance, and that the benefits resulting therefrom would be found extremely precarious. These reasons suggested to me the expediency of waiving the attempt to secure by written agreement those privileges to merchants for which the Raja pledged his word, especially as the prospect of resuming negociations is held out to be not very distant, at which period it is not improbable that a factory may be founded under the guidance of an Englishman, which, I presume, will be deemed the most eligible and unerring means of conducting the commercial interests of the Company on a respectable footing, and with prosperous success.

The regulations for carrying the commerce of the Company through the dominions of Bhootan by means of the agency of native merchants were settled by the treaty entered into with Mr. Bogle in the year 1775. The Debi Raja having acknowledged to me the validity of that treaty, it became unnecessary to insist upon the execution of another, since no new privileges and immunities appear to be requisite until the commerce can be established on a different footing.

In regard to the views and interests of the Raja of Bhootan, by whose concurrence alone the proposed intercourse of trade can be made to flourish, I should be sorry to suggest a doubt of its ever receiving a check by any conduct in that Government of an hostile tendency.

During the long interval I necessarily passed in Bhootan, I had an opportunity to judge of the Raja's disposition, and if an inference may be drawn from the particular civilities and attention he shewed me while residing with him, I should thence conclude he has a most entire confidence in the good faith and friendly disposition of your Government towards him, sentiments which, even were not the interests of the Bhootias so much interwoven in their connection with the English, there is every reason to believe are very far from the probability of a change.

The present Debi Raja, who is related by blood to a very numerous and powerful family, was solicited, it is said, on the decease of the Debi Luba, to take upon himself the cares of Government. He complied with the application, and by an unprecedented coalition of offices he became at once the civil and religious ruler. And having possessed an undivided and unparticipated influence as head of the ecclesiastic and political affairs for five years, he has, during the exercise of his power, had the opportunity of placing many of his relations in the most important offices under that Government, and has taken care to settle the reversion of the administration in his own family by having lately nominated his nephew, Lama Gaassa-too, who is now an infant in arms, for his successor, and had him with the usual forms publicly invested with the raj. However, he is yet looked up to as the real ruler, and doubtless will continue to be so during the minority of the present one, and as Lama he will always have a right to inspect and direct the conduct of the reigning Raja.

When hostilities ceased to distract the Company's possessions, peace restored, and security to commerce allowed the revenues to replenish a weakened treasury, it became with me an object of the highest ambition, at this bright era of the Company's affairs, to add to their prosperity by opening a new channel for the extension of their commerce. If I have fallen short of the general expectation, I trust the failure will not be imputed to a want of zeal. No exertion has been neglected which my humble talents qualified me to use, the impediments that existed, it will be observed, were independent of my conduct, and such as it was impossible to take any effectual measures to obviate.

Affairs being then in such position we can only have recourse to fair conjecture, and there is room to hope that the natural revolutions of human affairs, together with probable events, will conspire to remove the obstructions to a free intercourse between the Governments of Bengal and Thibet, and to renew the benefits which Bengal has lost. In the expectance of such an event, our best presumption and surest reliance rest not alone on the friendly dispositions of the present Raja of Teesho Loomboo, but also on the superstitious doctrines of the Thibet faith, which, as it immortalizes the soul of the Lama and admits its transmigration from one corporal tenement to another until the end of time, perpetuates too its prejudices and dispositions. The proof required of the identity of a regenerated Lama is an early recognizance of the possessions, acquaintances, and the transactions of his pre-existence. I am therefore of opinion that the new Lama will therefore be made to recur to the connections of the former Teesho Lama as one of the strongest marks that can denote his identity and facilitate his acceptation, and here I ground my hope on presumptions built upon the tenets of their faith, which is the basis on which their Government is constructed. To adopt a different conduct would be to abandon the immutable positions of their doctrine, and expose it to all the controversial imputations which are calculated to strip it of respect, and lay it open to the reproach or derision attendant on detected imposition.

During my residence in Thibet it was an object I had much at heart to obtain an interview of the infant Teesho Lama, but the Emperor of China's general order restricting his guardians to keep him in the strictest privacy, and prohibiting indiscriminately the admission of all persons to his presence, even his votaries who should come from a distance, appeared to me an obstacle almost insurmountable. Yet, however, the Raja, mindful of the amity subsisting between the Governor and him, and unwilling, I believe, by any act to hazard its interruption, at length consented to grant me that indulgence. As the meeting was attended with very singular and striking circumstances, I could not help

noting them with most particular attention, and though the repetition of such facts, interwoven and blended as they are with superstition, may expose me to the imputation of extravagance and exaggeration, yet I should think myself reprehensible to suppress them; and while I divest myself of all prejudice and assume the part of a faithful narrator, I hope, however tedious the detail I propose to enter into may be found, it will be received with candor and merit the attention of those for whose perusal and information it is intended, were it only to mark a strong feature in the national character of implicit homage to the great religious sovereign, and to instance the very uncommon, I may say, the almost unheard-of effects of early tuition.

I shall perhaps be still more justified in making this relation by adverting to that very extraordinary assurance the Raja of Teesho Loomboo made me but a few days before my departure from his court, which without further introduction I will beg leave literally to recite.

At an interview he allowed me, after having given me my audience of leave, said he:—"I had yesterday a vision of our tutelary deity, and to me it was a day replete with much interesting and important matter. This guardian power who inspires us with his illuminations on every momentous and great occasion indulged me with a divination from which I have collected that everything will be well. Set your heart at rest, for though a separation is about to take place between us, yet our friendship will not cease to exist, but through the favor of interposing Providence, you may rest assured it will increase and terminate eventually in that which may be for the best."

I should have paid less regard to so strange an observation but for this reason, that however dissonant from other doctrines their positions may be found, yet I judge they are the best foundations to build our reliances upon; and superstition, combining with inclination to implant such friendly sentiments in their minds, will ever constitute, the opinion having once obtained, the strongest barrier to our preservation. Opposed to the prejudices of a people no plan can be reasonably expected to take place—agreeing with them success must be the result.

I now beg leave to close the present address, and though the success of my undertaking has not equalled my own wishes, yet I derive to myself a ray of consolation from the assurance that I shall be acquitted of blame or negligence in the execution of your orders, and permit it me to add I wait with the utmost solicitude the judgment that shall be passed upon my conduct.

PATNA,
2nd March 1784.

I have the honor, &c.,
SAMUEL TURNER.

Enclosure in Mr. Turner's letter.

A list of the articles composing the commerce between Thibet and the surrounding countries:—

EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.
Thibet to China.	*China to Thibet.*
Gold-dust.	Gold and silver brocades.
Diamonds.	Plain silks.
Pearls.	Plain satins.
Corals.	Black tea of four or five different qualities.
A small quantity of musk.	Tobacco.
Twilled woollen cloths, the manufacture of Thibet.	Talents of silver.
Lamb skins.	Quicksilver.
Ood or otter skins, which are brought from Bengal.	Cinnabar.
	Somo China.

Exports.	Imports.
Thibet to China.—contd.	*China to Thibet.*—contd.
This trade of barter is carried on at Shinning or Silling a garrison town on the west frontier of China.	Trumpets, cymbals, and other musical instruments. Furs— Sable. Ermine. Black fox. Dried fruits of various sorts.
Thibet to Nipal.	*Nipal to Thibet.*
Rock-salt. Tinkal. Gold dust.	Silver specie. Coarse linen cloths. Gurree tree. Rice. Copper. This is the principal channel through which are conveyed English commodities and the produce of Bengal of which articles the following:— Broadcloth and the inferior sorts of which the colour in most instances are yellow and scarlet. Some few trinkets such as— Snuff boxes. Smelling bottles. Knives. Scissors. Spying glases. Of spices cloves are most saleable; no sort of spice is used for culinary purposes. Cloves are a principal ingredient in the composition of the perfumed rods which men of rank keep constantly burning in their presence.
Thibet to Bengal.	*Bengal to Thibet.*
As the articles enumerated on the opposite side which are at present received in greater or less proportions are paid for by the produce of Thibet, that is by an exchange for— Gold-dust. Musk. Tinkal.	Nutmeg. Sandalwood. Diamonds. Pearls. Emeralds. Sapphires. Phirosa or lapis lasuli. Coral. Jet. Amber. Chaank shells. Kimkaab guzesab, most valued. Malda cloths. Guzzie. Rungpore leather. Tobacco. Indigo. Ood or otter skins.
Thibet to Bhootan.	*Bhootan to Thibet.*
Gold-dust. Tea. Salt. Woollen cloths, the manufacture of Thibet.	English broadcloth. Rungpore leather. Tobacco. Coarse linen, guzzee, &c.

EXPORTS—concld.

Thibet to Bhootan—concld.

IMPORTS—concld.

Bhootan to Thibet—concld.

Coarse paper.
Rice.
Sandalwood.
Indigo.
Munjeet.

With Assam there is no trade or intercourse.

Thibet to Ladak and Cashmere.

The fine wool of the goats from which shawls are manufactured.

Ladak is the mart between Cashmere and Teesho Loombo.

A few shawls.
Dried fruits—
Apricots.
Kishmish.
Raisins.
Currants.
Dates.
Almonds.
Saffron.

Khumbaak to Thibet.

Horses.
Dromedaries.
Bulgar hides.

A beneficial traffic is carried on with Lhassa in exchanging gold-dust for silver bullion. Rate of carriage from Phari to Teesho Loombo for the hire of one beast of burthen that carries 200 cwt., eight or nine indermillees equivalent to three sicca rupees.

An account of an interview with Teesho Lama at the monastery of Terpaling.

On the 3rd of December 1783 I arrived at Terpaling, situated on the summit of a high hill, and it was about noon when I entered the gates of the monastery which was not long since erected for the reception and education of Teesho Lama. He resides in a palace in the centre of the monastery, which occupies about a mile of ground in circumference, and the whole is encompassed by a wall. The several buildings serve for the accommodation of 300 Gylongs appointed to perform religious service with Teesho Lama until he shall be removed to the monastery and musnud of Teesho Loombo. It is unusual to visit either here or in Bhootan on the day of arrival. We therefore rested this day, only receiving and sending messages of compliment.

On the 4th, in the morning, I was allowed to visit Teesho Lama, and found him placed in great form upon his musnud. On the left side stood his father and mother, on the other the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The musnud is a fabric of silk cushions piled one upon the other until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor; embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours suspended from the upper edge and hanging down.

By the particular request of Teesho Lama's father Mr. Saunders and myself wore the English dress.

I advanced and, as is the custom, presented the white Pelong handkerchief, and delivered also into the Lama's hands the Governor's present of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of handkerchiefs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right of Teesho Lama.

A multitude of persons, all those ordered to escort me, were admitted to his presence and allowed to make their prostrations. The infant Lama turned

towards them and received them all with a cheerful and significant look of complacency. His father then addressed me in the Thibet language, which was explained to me by the interpreter, that Teesho Lama had been used to remain at rest until this time of the day, but that he had awoke very early this morning and could not be prevailed on to remain longer in bed, for, added he, the English gentlemen were arrived and he could not sleep. During the time we were in the room I observed the Lama's eyes were scarce ever turned away from us, and when our cups were empty of tea he appeared uneasy, and throwing back his head and contracting the skin of his brow he kept making a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took out of a golden cup containing confects some burnt sugar, and stretching out his arm made a motion to his attendant to give them to me. He then sent some in like manner to Mr. Saunders who was with me.

I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something, for it was intimated to me that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred he cannot understand. However, his incapacity of answering excused me many words, and I just briefly said that the Governor-General, on receiving news of his decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation by his re-appearance was dispelled, and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place than he had experienced of grief on receiving the first mournful news. The Governor wished he might long continue to illumine the world with his presence, and was hopeful that the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before, and that by his continuing to shew kindness to my countrymen there might be an extensive communication between his votaries and the dependents of the British nation. The little creature turned looking steadfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head as though he understood and approved every word but could not utter a reply. The parents who stood by all the time eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young Lama's conduct. His whole regard was turned to us, he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time, and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed so correct, I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority.

The scene in which I was here brought to take a part was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, if not absurd it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention, and consequently minute remark.

Teesho Lama is at this time about 18 months of age. He did not speak a word but made most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion is of that hue which in England we should term rather brown but not without colour. His features good, small black eyes, an animated expression of countenance, and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen.

I had but little conversation with the father. He told me he had directions to entertain me three days on account of Teesho Lama, and entreated me with so much earnestness to pass another on his own account that I could not resist complying with his request. He then invited us for tomorrow to an entertainment he proposed to make at a small distance from the monastery, which invitation having accepted we took our leave and retired.

In the course of the afternoon I was visited by two officers of the Lama's household, both of whom are immediately attendant on his person. They sat and conversed with me some time, and enquired after Mr. Bogle. Both of them had seen him and then remarked how extremely fortunate it was the young Lama's having regarded us with so very particular notice; and observed on the very strong partiality of the former Teesho Lama for the English, and that the present one often tried to utter the name of the English. I encouraged the thought, hopeful that they would teach the prejudice to strengthen with his increasing

age, and they assured me that should he, when he begins to speak, have forgot, they would early teach him to repeat the name of Hastings.

On the morning of the 6th I again waited on Teesho Lama to present some curiosities I had brought for him from Bengal. He was very much struck with a small clock and had it held to him watching for a long time the revolutions of the minute hand. He admired it, but with gravity, and without any childish emotion.

There was nothing in the ceremony different from the first day's visit. The father and mother were present. I stayed about half an hour and then retired to return and take leave in the afternoon.

The votaries of Teesho Lama have already begun to flock in numbers to pay their adorations to him. Few are yet admitted to his presence. Those who come esteem it a happiness if he is but shown to them from the windows, and they are able to make their prostrations before he is removed. There came to-day a party of Kilmaaks (Calmah Tartars) for purposes of devotion and to make their offerings to the Lama. When I returned from visiting him I saw them standing at the entrance of the square in front of the palace, each with his cap off, his hands being placed together elevated and held even with his face. They remained upwards of half an hour in this attitude; their eyes fixed upon the apartment of the Lama, and anxiety very visibly depicted on their countenances. At length I imagine he appeared to them, for they began all together by lifting their hands still closed above their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and after lowering them to their breasts, then separating them to assist them in sinking and rising, they dropt upon their knees, and struck their heads against the ground. This with the same motion was repeated nine times; they afterwards advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of talents of gold and silver with the products of their country, to the proper officer, who having received them they retired apparently with much satisfaction.

Upon enquiry I learnt that offerings made in this manner are by no means unfrequent, and in reality constitute one of the most copious sources from which the Lamas of Thibet derive their wealth.

No one thinks himself degraded by performing these humiliations. The persons I allude to who came for this devout purpose were attendant on a man of superior rank that seemed to be more engrossed than the rest in the performance of the ceremony. He wore a rich satin garment lined with fox skins, and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk flowing from the centre of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of Siberian fur.

According to appointment I went in the afternoon to make my last visit to Teesho Lama. I received his despatches for the Governor-General and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor with many compliments. They presented me with a vest lined with lamb-skins making me many assurances of a long remembrance, and observing that at this time Teesho Lama is an infant and incapable of conversing, but they hoped to see me again when he shall have become of age. I replied that by favor of the Lama I might again visit this country. I looked forward with anxiety to the time when he should mount the musnud, and should then be extremely happy in the opportunity of paying my respects. After some expressions and protestations of mutual regard my visit was concluded. I received the handkerchiefs and took my leave, and am to pursue my journey towards Bengal tomorrow at the dawn of the day.

SAMUEL TURNER.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 20th April 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

JOHN STABLES, ESQ., *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 13th instant.

Read the following letter from the Hon'ble the Governor-General:—

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c,, Fort William, dated 2nd April.

GENTLEMEN,—Having contrived by making forced stages while the troops of my escort marched at the ordinary rate to make a stay of five days at Benares, I was thereby furnished with the means of acquiring some knowledge of the state of the province, which I am anxious to communicate to you; indeed the enquiry which was in a great degree obtruded upon me affected me with very mortifying reflections on my own inability to apply it to any useful purpose. From the confines of Buxar to Benares I was followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants. It was what I expected in a degree, because it is rare that the exercise of authority should prove satisfactory to all who are the objects of it; the distresses which were produced by the long continued drought unavoidably tended to heighten the general discontent. Yet I have reason to fear that the cause existed principally in a defective, if not a corrupt and oppressive administration. Of a multitude of petitions that were presented to me of which I took minutes, and every one that did not relate to a personal grievance, contained the representation of one and the same species of oppression, which is in its nature of an influence most fatal to the future cultivation. The practice to which I allude is this. It is affirmed that the aumils and renters exact from the proprietors of the actual harvest a large increase in kind on their stipulated rent, that is from those who held their pottahs by the tenure of paying one-half of the produce of their crops, either the whole without a subterfuge, or a large proportion of it by false measurement or other pretexts; and from those whose enagements are for a fixed rent in money, the half or a greater proportion is taken in kind. This is in effect a tax upon the industry of the inhabitants since there is scarce a field of grain in the province, I might say not one, which has not been preserved by incessant labour of the cultivator, by digging wells for their supply, or watering them from the wells of masonry with which this country abounds, or from the neighbouring tanks, rivers, and nullahs. The people who imposed upon themselves this voluntary and extraordinary labour, and not unattended with expense, certainly did it in the expectation of reaping the profits of it, and it is as certain that they would not have done it, if they had known that their rulers, from whom they were entitled to an indemnification, would take from them what they had so hardly earned. If the same administration continues, and the country shall again labour under the want of the natural rains, every field will be abandoned, the revenues fail, and thousands perish through the want of subsistence, for who will labour for the sole benefit of others and to make himself the subject of vexation? The practices are not to be imputed to the aumils employed in the districts, but to the naib himself. The avowed principle on which he acts, and which he acknowledged to myself, is that the whole sum fixed for the revenues of the province must be collected, and that for this purpose the deficiencies arising in places where the crops have failed, or what have been left uncultivated, must be supplied from the resources of others, where the soil has been better suited to the season, or the industry of the cultivators more successfully exerted; a principle which, however specious and

plausible it may at first appear, certainly tends to the most pernicious and destructive consequences. If this declaration of the naib had been made only to myself I might have doubted my construction of it, but it was repeated by him to Mr. Anderson, who understood it in exactly the same sense.

In the management of the customs the conduct of the naib, or of the officers under him, was forced also upon my attention. The exorbitant rates exacted by an arbitrary valuation of the goods, the practice of exacting duties twice on the same goods, first from the seller and afterwards from the buyer, and the vexatious disputes and delays drawn on the merchants by these oppressions were loudly complained of, and some instances of this kind were said to exist even at the very time when I was in Benares. Under such circumstances we are not to wonder if the merchants of foreign countries are discouraged from resorting to Benares, and if the commerce of that province should annually decay.

Other evils or imputed evils have accidentally come to my knowledge, which I will not now particularize, as I hope that, with the assistance of the Resident, they may be in part corrected. One, however, I must mention, because it has been verified by my own observation, and is of that kind which reflects an unmerited reproach on our general and national character. When I was at Buxar the Resident at my desire enjoined the naib to appoint creditable people to every town through which our route lay, to persuade and encourage the inhabitants to remain in their houses, promising to give them guards as I approached and they required it for their protection; and that he might perceive how earnest I was for his observance of this precaution which I am certain was faithfully delivered, I repeated it to him in person, and dismissed him that he might precede me for that purpose, but to my great disappointment I found every place through which I passed abandoned, nor had there been a man left in any of them for their protection. I am sorry to add that from Buxar to the opposite boundary I have seen nothing but the traces of complete devastation in every village, whether caused by the followers of the troops which have lately passed for their natural relief, and I know not whether my own may not have had their share, or from the apprehensions of the inhabitants left to themselves, and of themselves deserting their houses. I wish to acquit my own countrymen of the blame of these unfavorable appearances, and in my own heart I do acquit them, for at one encampment near a large village called Derrera, in the purgunnah of Zemanea, a crowd of people came to me complaining that their former aumil, who was a native of the place and had long been established in authority over them, and whose custom it had been, whenever any troops passed, to remain in person on the spot for their protection, having been removed, the new aumil on the approach of any military detachment himself first fled from the place, and the inhabitants having no one to whom they could apply for their redress, or for the representation of their grievances, and being thus remediless fled also, so that their houses and effects became a prey to any person who chose to plunder them. The general conclusion appeared to me an inevitable consequence from such a state of facts, and my own senses bore testimony to it in this specific instance, nor do I know how it is possible for any officer commanding a military party, how attentive soever he may be to the discipline and forbearance of his people, to prevent disorders when there is neither opposition to hinder nor evidence to deter them.

These and many other irregularities I impute solely to the naib, and I think it my duty to recommend his instant removal. I would myself have dismissed him had the control of this province come within the line of my powers. I have established such regulations and checks as would have been most likely to prevent the like irregularities—I have said checks because unless there is some visible influence, and a powerful and able one, impended over the head of the manager no system can avail. The next appointed may prove from some defect as unfit for the office as the present, for the choice is limited to few without experience to guide it. The first was of my own nomination. His merits and qualifications stood in equal balance with my knowledge of those who might have been the candidates for the office, but he was the father of the Raja and the affinity sunk the scale wholly in his favour, for

who could be so fit to be entrusted with the charge of his son's interest, and the new credit of the rising family. He deceived my expectations; another was recommended by the Resident, and at my instance the Board appointed him. This was Jaggerdeo Sing, the present naib. I knew him not and the other members of the Board as little. While Mr. Markham remained in office, of whom as his immediate patron he might have stood in awe, I am told that he restrained his natural disposition which has been described to me as rapacious, unfeeling, haughty, and to an extreme vindictive.

I cannot avoid remarking that, excepting the city of Benares itself, the province depending upon it is in effect without a government, the naib exercising only a dependent jurisdiction without a principal. The Raja is without authority, and even his name disused in the official instruments issued or taken by the manager. The representation of his situation shall be the subject of another letter. I have made this already too long and shall confine it to the single subject for the communication of which it was begun. This permits me to recapitulate. The administration of the province is misconducted and the people oppressed, trade discouraged, and the revenue though said to be exceeded in the actual collections by many lakhs (for I have a minute account of it which states the net amount including jaghirs at something more than fifty-one lakhs) in danger of a rapid decline from the violent appropriation of its means. The naib or manager is unfit for his office. A new manager is required and a system of official control; in a word, a constitution, for neither can the Board extend its superintending powers to a district so remote from its observation, nor has it delegated that authority to the Resident, who is merely the representative of Government and the receiver of its revenue in the last process of it, nor indeed would it be possible to render him wholly so for reasons which I may hereafter detail. If, gentlemen, you shall think it proper to intrust me with powers to this purpose, I will cheerfully undertake the reformation of the country and will be answerable for its effects. But I entreat that your resolves may be instant, for from the hour that it is known that such a design is in contemplation, and it will be known in ten days after your receipt of it, the authority of the manager will sink with his influence, unless it is preserved by some immediate pledge of confirmation, and such I would advise if you shall deem it improper to yield to my recommendation.

I have the happiness to find all men satisfied and happy in the excellent administration of the city of Benares. I have experienced what few men of the first station have known in the intercourse with the natives of India, if of any other country, the voice of adulation diverted even in my own presence from myself, in the eagerness of bestowing a better merited praise on another. Such is the tribute which the wisdom and integrity of Ally Ibrahim Cawn have extorted from the hearts of those who have been subjected to his jurisdiction; and I dare trust to the result of your own enquiries, let who will make the report of him, for a confirmation of mine.

LUCKNOW,
2nd April 1784.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

Read another letter as follows from the Hon'ble the Governor-General:—

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated 5th April 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—It will be proper that I should formally notify to you that I arrived at this place on the morning of the 27th of last month.

I had the early mortification to learn that much of my time would be unavoidably lost by the want of materials to work with, Mr. Bristow having carried with him many of the accounts of his receipts and expenditure.

I have received a letter from the Nabob upon the subject, in which he informs me that Mr. Bristow has left the sum of Rs. 14,01,508 unadjusted of the sum received by him from the aumils, of which he repeatedly promised to furnish the account, but has not yet either delivered or sent it. Enclosed is

a translation of the letter and of an account which has been delivered to me by the ministers of the sums received by Mr. Bristow, amounting on the whole to Rs. 32,98,569-14-2, of which only Rs. 18,97,061-11-0 are stated to have been brought into the Company's account, and the remaining sum of Rs. 14,01,508-3-2 as yet unaccounted for.

On referring to the records kept in the accountant's office I find that the sum which is brought to credit in the Resident's Treasury account, as received from the 11th September 1783 to the 31st January 1784 (being the period included in the account delivered to me by the minister) is Fyzabad 16 Sun Sicca Rs. 16,00,429-15-11. The difference betwixt this sum and Rs. 18,97,061-11, stated in the minister's account, will probably be nearly reconciled by differences of batta and other adjustments, which may be made on a minute examination of the documents in the possession of the minister, for which purpose I have referred the account to Mr. Wombwell, whose report, if necessary, will hereafter be laid before you.

In the mean time it will be proper to call immediately upon Mr. Bristow for his counterpart of this account, and especially for the particulars of the sum of Rs. 14,01,508-3-2, which, as I gather from the minister's report, has been admitted by Mr. Bristow to have been collected by him, but is alleged to have been laid out in sundry expenses made for the services of the Nabob Vizier.

The other accounts which Mr. Bristow ought to have left with Mr. Wombwell are—

1st—The adjusted account of his monthly receipts;

2nd—The same account settled at the end of the Fuslee year 1190;

3rd—The same brought up to his departure;

4th—The account of the settlement of funds appropriated to the Company for this year;

5th—The kistbundy of ditto;

6th—The jamma wasil baky of ditto.

I regret the want of these accounts chiefly because it will put me to the trouble of collecting them from the materials in the possession of the Vizier's officers; but the account of the expenditure of the sum of Rs. 14,01,508-3-2 can only be procured from Mr. Bristow. Of the nature of these expenditures I am wholly ignorant and equally of their authority. It will rest with you, gentlemen, to call on Mr. Bristow to shew the particulars of these disbursements and to produce his authority for making them.

Whilst I was on my way to this place I could not help entertaining the most gloomy apprehensions, from the representations which I daily received, of the effects of the late drought, of which I was myself an eye-witness, for even the beds of deep rivers which I passed, threw up clouds of dust from their channels.

The short time that I have been here will not allow me to pronounce with certainty, but it is with pleasure I remark that however great the difficulties may be, I possess advantages, that in some measure counterbalance them, in the disposition of the Nabob and his ministers, in the confidence they seem to repose in me, and the readiness they have hitherto shown to adopt and promote my views. From these circumstances I derived most pleasing presage, and you may be assured, gentlemen, that I shall most cheerfully and steadily pursue the important objects which I have undertaken.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

LUCKNOW,
5th April 1784.

Secret Department.
Tuesday.

Fort William, the 11th May 1784.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ., *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 20th ultimo.

Read the following letter from the Hon'ble the Governor-General :—
To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated the 21st April 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have received from the Nabob Vizier two bills of exchange drawn by Buckerauge and Beroondoss on the house of Cashmirimul and Cassinauth in Calcutta, for two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees each, payable to your order, the one in fifty-one days, and the other in eighty-one days after date, and I have sent them to the accountant as the proper official channel though which they should pass, with directions to him to transmit them by this day's dawk to the Board.

These bills make a part of thirteen lakhs, which Almass Ally Cawn has agreed to pay to his master in the present emergency for the purpose of aiding him and relieving the Company.

The acting minister has informed me that he has a further sum of eight lakhs ready, which I shall also deliver to the accountant with orders to pay it to you; and these with the former sums, amounting altogether to thirteen lakhs, will be carried by him in his official accounts to the credit of the Nabob Vizier.

The exchange of the bills I have settled at 5½ per cent., at which I mean to fix it as the true and just standard at which it ought to be rated, and which it should never exceed. The former exchanges upon bills drawn at this place I cannot revert to without expressing my astonishment at them. At the time of Messrs. Middleton and Johnson they were from 19 to 20 per cent., and they were afterwards reduced by Mr. Bristow (if I recollect right) to 16 per cent.

I desire your instructions with respect to the rest, and what more I may have to receive, and request if you should have occasion to draw upon your treasury here, that the rate of exchange may not be more than 5½ per cent.; and I earnestly recommend it to you that if your other calls are not of so urgent a nature as to render it impossible, you will appropriate this remittance together with what remains of the thirteen lakhs advanced by Almass Ally Cawn as the first institution of a fund for the payment of the interest of your bonds, which had suffered something in their credit, and of course in their value, by the suspension of payment of the interest but a few months before my departure from Calcutta. Unless that debt has been since augmented this supply will be more than sufficient for the payment of the interest for one complete year to come.

I expect in a few days to receive five lakhs from Fyzulla Khan, and other payments will follow as the collectors are able to furnish them; in which, however, I mean not to urge the minister to any acts of precipitation, as in the present calamitous state of the country it requires to be managed with a gentle hand.

The period of the ensuing rains, which I am patiently waiting for, will determine how far I may venture to promise. If there should be another

season of drought similar to that which we have already experienced it is not in the power of human wisdom to devise means for saving the country; but as it is not in the course of things that we should be again afflicted with such a dreadful misfortune, I have every reason to believe that I shall answer in every respect the complete ends of my deputation.

I have the honour, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

LUCKNOW,
21st April 1784.

Read another letter as follows from the Hon'ble the Governor-General:—

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated the 22nd April 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—Since my departure from Calcutta I have received a number of letters from Major Brown at Delhi. As these dispatches, and the papers that have accompanied them, are very voluminous I shall not unnecessarily swell your records and embarrass your attention by sending you complete copies of them. I will content myself with extracting those parts of them that are essential for your information, and with recapitulating in this address such circumstances as are necessary to bring the whole of Major Brown's late negotiations into one connected view. Some time ago Major Brown informed me that Afrasiab Cawn, who has now acquired the actual administration at Delhi, was extremely desirous of engaging, under the name and sanction of Shah Alam, in an alliance with us and the Nabob Vizier, on terms similar to those which were formerly discussed and concerted as the groundwork of a treaty betwixt us and the late Mirza Shuffy. Of the nature of these terms you will be more particularly informed from the perusal of the plan itself, which I have now the honour to enclose to you. The principal article, you will observe, is that each shall be ready to assist the other with their forces when required; and a specific rate of subsidy is settled to be paid according to the number of horse or foot which may be so furnished. I have hitherto given little or no encouragement to the expectations of Afrasiab Cawn, but Major Brown has lately recommended this alliance in such strong and urgent terms, and has supported his opinion with arguments of so important a nature, that I think it incumbent on me to submit the subject generally to your consideration.

Major Brown, you will observe, entertains strong suspicions of Mahadajee Sindia, who, according to his information, has lately pressed the Chiefs at Delhi to enter into a close connection with him, and dissuaded them from forming any alliance with us, in a style of language very inconsistent with his own connection with our Government, offering even to support their opposition to us by force of arms. Copies of letters have been shown to Major Brown, which are said to have been received from Mahadajee Sindia himself, as well as from Himmut Bahadur, a person who has for some time past taken an active part in the intrigues of the court, and from Cotul Cawn, the vakeel of Afrasiab Khan in Sindia's camp. Abstracts of these papers accompany the address.

To defeat the designs which Sindia may have formed by anticipating his views of an alliance with the Chiefs of Delhi is the object on which Major Brown chiefly rests the policy and advantage of the proposed treaty. He remarks that if we do not enter into an alliance with Afrasiab Cawn, that Chief will, from necessity, be compelled to form one with Mahadajee Sindia, who will then be dangerous to the English and their ally the Vizier; that Afrasiab Cawn has represented to him that Sindia, when he is strengthened with the support of the King's name, will invade the province of Oudh; that he has secured the Rohilas both within and without the Vizier's dominions; that the pleas by which he will justify his invasion will be the King's tribute, the Mahratta chouth, and the restoration of the Rohilas and Cheyt Sing, and that it is in expectation of this diversion that Tippoo Saheb delays to make peace. This representation, Major Brown thinks from other circumstances of Sindia's conduct, may

be partly true. Major Brown further observes that the proposed alliance will be attended with no expense; on the contrary, as the King must defray the charge of our troops when wanted for his service, it will be in fact a saving, and he adds that it will be no infringement of our treaty with the Mahrattas, or if there is any danger of interfering with the connection formed betwixt us and them, a clause may be inserted in the proposed treaty excepting the Mahrattas in the terms of our general alliance. He points out the danger of incurring the resentment of the King, and the Moghul Sardars by thus rejecting their overtures, whilst on the other hand, by showing too great a regard in this instance to the inclinations of Mahadajee Sindia, we shall only encourage the presumption of a man whose duplicity and falsehood, he says, have been strongly demonstrated in his conduct towards the Rana of Ghode, and in his transactions with the Chiefs at Delhi. Major Brown further remarks that if the proposed treaty is agreed to, we may in future rest secure on the subject of the King's claims on Bengal, Corah, and Allahabad, which will otherwise become the source of an expensive and unpopular war for the Company.

These are the principal arguments which are detailed in the letters I have lately received from Major Brown. There is also another consideration of some magnitude, which though it has not lately been insisted on, might have a considerable weight in inducing us to avail ourselves of the present favourable disposition of the King's ministers.

The territories of Shah Alam form a barrier betwixt the Sikhs and the dominions of the Nabob Vizier. If a permanent alliance was established betwixt us and the King, an additional security would be derived from it against the desultory incursions of that predatory tribe, to which the Vizier's frontier are from their situation exposed. I understand that negotiations have at different times been carried on between His Majesty and Chiefs of the Sikhs. If unfortunately he should ever be so ill advised as to throw himself upon them, and suffer them to gain an influence in the administration of his government, or if ever they should acquire it by overpowering the forces employed by his ministers in his defence, the consequences might not only be fatal to himself but ultimately dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of these provinces, and it evidently behoves us to be watchful to improve every opportunity of guarding against the possibility of such an event. In the mean time I have the pleasure to inform you that there is no immediate prospect of any disturbances from that quarter, as the Chiefs of the Sikhs, who were some time ago expected to move this way, have now retired to their own country.

Such are the principal arguments, gentlemen, which have been brought forth in favour of the proposed alliance. I will now state to you those which occur to me against it, either at the present juncture, or in its present form.

It has long been imagined that Mahadajee Sindia, as soon as he should have finished his war with the Rana of Ghode, would turn his thoughts towards the affairs at Delhi. You will remember that in the month of September last, on intelligence being received of the assassination of Mirza Shuffy, he gave formal notice to our Resident of his intention of sending a body of troops to assist in avenging the cause of his murdered friend, and although the accommodation which soon after took place between the present minister Afrasiab Cawn, and Mahomet Beg Humdanny, the author of the assassination, induced him to suspend his designs at that time, yet we were informed that he would probably resume them whenever a favourable opportunity should occur for carrying them into execution. It seems highly probable that Sindia now actually entertains views of acquiring an influence in the administration at Delhi either by negotiation or war, and indeed nothing can afford a stronger presumptive proof of it than the general representations of Afrasiab Cawn and the uncommon eagerness with which he has solicited our alliance. Admitting, therefore, that he does entertain such views, and that they go no further, the consequence of our entering into an alliance with His Majesty's Minister will be either that we must oppose him by force of arms, or that he must desist from his designs, in which case our relation to him will be greatly changed. Instead of an ally, whose views are connected with our own, we must consider him as a prince whose ambition we have crossed and disappointed. We should in fact sacrifice a

substance in exchange for a shadow. At the present important period, when our success in the Carnatic may in a great measure depend on the cordiality of Sindia's exertions, it is not merely speculative advantage, nor the apprehension of speculative dangers, that should induce us to take any measures either tending to change him from a friend to an enemy, or to loosen the ties of a connection which may be so useful to us, and which we have with so much difficulty established. I will not pretend to say what effects such an addition of Sindia's power might have on the tranquillity of India, but whatever might be the effect the event itself is distant, and without our interference may be frustrated by many contingencies.

If Sindia, on the other hand, has no such designs, the strongest arguments that have been advanced in favour of the proposed treaty fall at once to the ground.

I have hitherto considered this supposition by itself without involving it in the next supposition that Sindia has views hostile to the English, because the two suppositions seem to rest on different grounds, the one being founded on a strong probability, and the other only on a mere possibility, and because they ought to have a different influence on our deliberations.

Much has been said of Sindia's duplicity and falsehood, and inferences have from thence been drawn of his future dangerous designs against the English and their ally the Nabob of Oude. Sindia does not at least deserve this character from us. In all his transactions with the English, I believe I might say in all his transactions that have come to our knowledge, he has shown an uncommon degree of steadiness and sincerity. Of the circumstances alluded to regarding the Rana of Ghode I have yet no information, but I know the Rana himself to deserve the worst that can be said of his political character. His conduct to our Government has been invariably marked with deception, infidelity, and ingratitude, and if we may credit the assertions of Mahadajee, the notoriety of his want of faith was the cause of Sindia's perseverance in pursuing the war to his utter deprivation. I cannot admit of any plea which the partizans of the Rana may use to charge Mahadajee Sindia with a blemish which was so apparent in himself.

Great stress has been laid on the correspondence with the Sardars at Dehli, and if the letters written by Himmut Bahadur and Cotul Cawn are genuine, and are actually written by Sindia's authority, they prove a great deal, but there is an acrimony in the style of these letters that seems more calculated to irritate us than to persuade those to whom they are addressed; and when we consider that they have been produced to Major Brown by persons who are strongly interested in effecting a misunderstanding betwixt us and the Mahrattas, we cannot help doubting their authencity. The same reason throws a degree of distrust on every information communicated by Afrasiab Cawn. I have no reason to credit what he has asserted of the Rohillas. Of the fidelity of Fyzulla Cawn I have received a strong proof in the deputation of one of his sons, who is now arrived at this place, and of the allegiance of the rest of the Rohilas residing within the Vizier's dominions, I do not find that the smallest suspicion is entertained. It is impossible to say what effect an extraordinary or unexpected acquisition of power might have on the firmest mind, but if I may judge from all that has lately passed betwixt us and Sindia, from a general review of his conduct and character, and from every insight I have been able to acquire regarding the state of politics at Poona, I am warranted in believing that Sindia has firmly connected his interests with ours, and looks to his alliance with the English as the surest means of preserving undiminished the power and independence which he now possesses. We must be cautious how we give way to suspicions. There are some situations in which precautions are necessary, but there are others, and this is perhaps one of them, in which the apprehension of danger often leads to measures which prove the means of drawing it on.

You will remember, gentlemen, that there was a time when it was my opinion that it would be for the credit and interest of the English Government to exert their endeavours to relieve the Shah from the thraldom of his ministers, and to establish his authority at least in his own domains. The

conjunction was then favourable, the death of Nudjiff Cawn had in fact left the administration vacant; it was contended for by three or four different parties which were nearly balanced. A small exertion of our force might have turned the scale in favour of the Shah, and it might have been done without any expense to ourselves, as His Majesty's country then possessed resources sufficient to supply the charges of our troops. Affairs are now much changed. Many successive revolutions have since taken place. One competitor has sunk after another. Some have fallen by the sword, and others have retired with their armies to their own jaghirs, till at length the administration at the capital has fallen into the hands of Afrasiab Cawn. In these various revolutions the Shah himself has had little share. Each successive minister has acted under his name and assumed his authority, and I have reason to imagine that if we were to enter into the treaty which is now proposed by Afrasiab Cawn, so far from promoting the wishes of the King, we should have to encounter the secret opposition of himself and his ancient servants, and perhaps the declared enmity of many other factions now laying dormant. The effect which so many revolutions must produce in the state of the country may be easily conceived. It has for near two years been a scene of disorder and rapine, and unhappily for its inhabitants the late extraordinary calamity of drought has so effectually completed its ruin that instead of possessing resources or funds that could be appropriated to defray a foreign subsidy, I believe few parts of it would yield a revenue greater than the expense of collecting it.

Having thus fully submitted to your consideration the various arguments that have occurred to me on this subject, I shall only beg leave to add that on the whole I am of opinion that, as far as depends on us, matters should be left in their present state, until the season of the rains, which is near at hand, shall enable us to form a judgment regarding the future resources of His Majesty's country. We may then with more certainty resume the subject and consider how far it may be expedient for us to connect our interests with those of His Majesty. In the mean time I shall hope to be favoured with your sentiments, and you may be assured, gentlemen, that although my attention during this interval must be chiefly devoted to the particular objects which have induced me to visit the court of the Vizier, I shall not fail to make such further enquiries into the views and disposition of Mahadajee Sindia, and the state of politics at Delhi as may enable us to proceed on the surest grounds.

I have the honour, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

LUCKNOW,
22nd April 1784.

P.S.—On reading over the above address it accurs to me that the strong manner in which I have stated Afrasiab Khan's representations and even the weight which I have myself given them by entering into so long a discussion, may lead you to form an idea of my sentiments different from that which I wish to convey. I think it necessary therefore to repeat in the most pointed manner that I do not entertain the smallest apprehension of the sincerity of Mahadajee Sindia, but on the contrary I have the most thorough conviction that he has closely connected his views and interests with our own. Even whilst the papers are transcribing that are to accompany this address, an event has happened which contradicts one part of Afrasiab Khan's representations, I mean the conclusion of peace with Tippoo Saheb.

I think it incumbent on me to forward to you an extract of a letter from Lieutenant James Anderson which contains the latest and most authentic information regarding the transactions with Sindia and the Ranah of Ghode, which sets the conduct of Mahadajee Sindia in a different light from that in which it has been represented at Delhi.

Secret Department,
Thursday.

Fort William, the 13th May 1784.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

EDWARD WHELER, ESQ., *indisposed.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 14th instant.

Read the following letter from the Hon'ble the Governor-General:—

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated the 3rd May 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—On the 20th or 21st instant I received from Mr. Secretary Hay copies of the letter of the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated the 27th ultimo, and of the English counterpart of the treaty concluded with Tippoo Sultan.

I have suffered the intermediate time to pass in the expectation that possibly you would have chosen to make a direct and formal communication of this event to me with your resolutions or deliberations upon it. I am not sorry for the delay, because it has afforded me time for the due recollection of my own thoughts on so important a subject, on which, if the sense of what I owe to my public trust to you and to our common masters would have admitted it, I should rather have desired to be totally silent.

The period stipulated for the delivery of your ratification of the treaty to Tippoo Sultan, which allowed but three months for the passage of the treaty to Fort St. George, for its transmission to Calcutta, for the form of your ultimate sanction, for its return to Fort St. George, and lastly to the place of the residence of Tippoo Sultan, will have compelled you necessarily to quicken this act, in whatsoever mode you may have resolved to perform it; and therefore I very early considered that whatever my sentiments might be in relationt o it they must in any event arrive too late to be received in aid of your deliberations so far as these concerned the point in question, but not so with respect to its consequences.

To the terms of the treaty—I mean the concessions and stipulations made on both sides—I see nothing to object. I object only to the form and construction of it, because it appears to me a public and avowed exclusion of the Nabob Wallah Jah from the sovereignty of the Carnatic, and an usurpation of it in the name of the Company. My reason for this conclusion will be seen in the following observations on the several articles of the treaty.

The preliminary article expresses the Hon'ble East India Company to be one of the contracting parties for all their possessions and for the Carnatic Payonghaut, and the Nabob Tippoo Sultan Bahadur to be the other, without a syllable of reference to the Nabob Wallah Jah, whom the Company acknowledge the only proprietor of the Carnatic though they are placed by this instrument in that relation to it. The first article is yet more exceptionable, for having included in a general stipulation all the friends and allies of the English it proceeds to the specification of the Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore. Such specification always and necessarily implies a distinction of pre-eminence and places all others supposed by the general description in an inferior and common degree. If, therefore, the Nabob Wallah Jah is meant to be considered as an ally he is degraded, but it is evident from the context that he is wholly excluded, since the rights of the Carnatic and its relation to the allies in question are mentioned, which can in no construction whatever apply to the Nabob Wallah Jah, who himself possesses those rights and those relations as the sovereign of the Carnatic, which by the treaty are, against all form of

speech as against right, vested in the Carnatic itself, in the property instead of the proprietor. I must further remark on this article that the Raja of Tanjore is not an ally of the Carnatic, but a member of it, and the attempt to separate him from the general state, and to dignify him with a title of independence and equality is itself an injury to the rights of the Nabob, his sovereign. I beg in this part to be understood I do not allude to the respective claims of the Nabob and the Raja, which have so long been the subject of mutual contention and appeal to the Company, but to the condition of vassalage which, however the duties of it may be defined, the Raja himself has never yet as I have heard dared to disavow.

Article 4th.—That part of this article which stipulates that Amboor and Saulgur shall be delivered to the English is in the same spirit with the rest, these places belonging of undoubted right to the Nabob Wallah Jah, in whose name and behalf the restitution ought to have been stipulated, not in the name and behalf of the English, who have no right to possess them.

Article 5th.—The Carnatic is here again substituted for the Nabob Wallah Jah, its lawful proprietor.

Article 6th.—This is the only article in which mention is made of the Nabob Wallah Jah, and it is remarkable that he not only appears in it as a simple individual, but even his title is denied him in it; and his subjects and ministerial servants, if such were to be comprehended in the list which was to be delivered to the Nabob Tippoo Sultan's ministers, are called persons belonging to the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn Bahadur, an appellation which would be equally applicable to the servants of any individual. This is not an inaccuracy of mere negligence, for I well remember that in the credentials which were delivered to the commission every title of honor and distinction of office which belonged to the Right Hon'ble President were most minutely enumerated in the preamble, and filled nearly one-half of the first page in that instrument, which shews that His Lordship and the Committee were not unapprized of the propriety of such attentions, and if those were due to a simple agent they were surely due in a much greater degree to the illustrious person whose rights and interests formed one permanent object of the treaty.

Article 10th.—Great care is taken in this article to secure the observance of the peace on the part of the English by making it an indispensable condition that the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, and the Governor and Select Committee of Bombay shall separately and formally declare their accession to it, although members of the same general state with the Government of Fort St. George, yet the Nabob Wallah Jah, though equally a party in the virtual construction and effect of the treaty is omitted by a contrivance of which, I believe, there is no example, a sense of personality being fixed to his country for the apparent purpose (for I can devise no other) of eluding the expression of his name, which could not have been used in the context, without an implication at least of his sovereignty. The words to which I allude are these:—"On behalf of the Hon'ble East India Company and the Carnatic Payonghaut."

The like conjunction of the Nabob Tippoo Sultan Bahadur with his own dominions seems necessarily to have been made for the purpose of giving an air of consistency to the corresponding member of the sentence, but is equally against the common forms of language.

Having now made such observations upon the articles of the treaty as tended to prove the position for which they were professedly introduced I shall subjoin one general conclusion from them.

Peace is indeed formally established between Tippoo Sultan and the English East India Company, and the Carnatic is included in it, but the war is still open for renewal between Tippoo and the Nabob Wallah Jah, if the former shall at any time choose to avail himself of the distinction, and I know not by what species of reasoning the Government of Fort St. George will answer his plea for what they may in such an event construe a breach of treaty if he shall say—"You, gentlemen, have both afforded me an example in a treaty formed on the very basis of infidelity to your first and most ancient ally and by your own studied exclusion of the only name which could render the peace of the Carnatic effective.

By the separation of the Raja of Tanjore from the Carnatic, and his acknowledged alliance with it, the Raja of Tanjore is left at liberty entirely to contract what alliances or engagements he pleases with other powers; for as there is no other instrument of his alliance with the Carnatic but this treaty which makes no provision for the consequences of it, there is of course no obligation to hinder him in the maintenance of which the representatives of the Company can interfere; and he may be the ally of Tippoo Sultan, and may concert with him such a plan of conjoined preparation as may incite the latter to a renewal of the war by the assurance of its termination in the subjection of the Carnatic.

It ought to be remembered that one ground alleged by the late Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn for commencing this war was that the Nabob Wallah Jah had failed in the performance of the stipulation made about 30 years past for the surrender of Trichinopoly with the Raja of Mysore, to which Hyder laid claim as the representative of that Government. This claim is personal, and as it was an express cause of the war, it ought to have been removed by the treaty of peace, but it has not been removed; on the contrary, it has acquired additional force by the past omission of it, and on the Nabob's refusal to assert his right by a renewal of the war.

As the preliminary article of the treaty states it to have been made by virtue of powers delegated to the Right Hon'ble the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George for that purpose by the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, appointed by the King of Parliament and Great Britain to direct and control all the political affairs of the Hon'ble East India Company in India, and as the treaty is directly contrary to the orders of the Governor-General and Council, and subversive of the principles of justice and good faith which they have long and repeatedly but ineffectually enjoined to the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George, by the exclusion of the Nabob Wallah Jah from a participation in the peace stipulated for his dominions, and by the avowed usurpation of his right of sovereignty and possession of the same, I do for myself most formally protest against the Right Hon'ble the President and the members of the Select Committee of Fort St. George for these unwarrantable acts; and I humbly make my appeal to the King and Parliament for the redress thereof, as well in vindication of the powers vested by them in this Government, as of the faith and honor of the British nation, which have been equally violated by the same acts of the President and the Select Committee aforesaid.

Where I in my place at the seat of Government, I should not think myself acquitted of my duty in having thus entered my protest against the treaty, but I cannot prescribe, nor would it become me to recommend, what in this instance your own sense of the case alone ought to dictate.

Although I have objected to the form of the treaty, yet I should be unwilling to have it understood that I should either advise were there time for advice the disavowal of it upon that account, or that I should myself, were I at the Council Board, refuse my signature to it. The peace is an object too valuable to be rejected if it can be retained with honour. I should therefore have no scruple to join in the ratification of the treaty, provided it were accompanied with a declaratory clause which should include the Nabob Walla Jah as an essential party to it. If you should have adopted the same expedient on your own suggestion, you will not be displeased, gentlemen, at receiving from me this instance of the conformity of my sentiments to yours, and in some degree a presumptive evidence of the propriety of both.

Yet there is one circumstance which has been suggested in the last letter received from the President and Select Committee of Bombay, which, if true, ought in my judgment to invalidate the treaty altogether, even though it shall have received your most express ratification of it.

It is a circumstance of so infamous a kind that I forbear through shame to mention it in express terms, but it is impossible that the allusion should escape you; and I take it upon me most earnestly to recommend that the President and Select Committee of Fort St. George be informed of the fact, as it is related in the correspondence with the Presidency of Bombay, and required to ascertain and report to your Board the truth of it.

I have, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

P.S.—While this letter was transcribing I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 13th ultimo, in which you inform me that a treaty was concluded with the Nabob Tippoo Sultan on the 11th of last month, and that you mean to communicate to me your sentiments upon it. For such communication I shall be thankful and shall impatiently wait for it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Read another letter from the Hon'ble the Governor-General.

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated Lucknow, the 3rd May 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to transmit to you a letter which I received last night from Mr. James Anderson, in which you see the additional difficulties in which our Government is involved by the conduct of that of Fort St. George.

I early foresaw that the minister of the Mahratta State, and Mahadajee Sindia epecially, would be offended at the contempt shewn to them by the omission of the 9th article of the treaty concluded with the Peshwa, which ought to have been declared the basis of the peace with Tippoo Saheb in the treaty which has been lately concluded with him; and I endeavoured to obviate it by a letter addressed to Mahadajee Sindia on the occasion, in which I acknowledged the peace to have been the effect of the treaty of Salbey and the immediate production of his exertions and authority.

I also apprized Mr. James Anderson of the defect of the treaty, and furnished him with the best arguments that I could devise to palliate it. I am sorry to add that these were such only as displayed the nakedness of our political system and the imbecility of the first authority by which it is governed, for no other could justify the national faith, and little was sacrificed by the avowal, since it is as manifest as the objects of the meridional sunshine.

I feel my share of mortification for this state of indignity and imputed criminality of our Government, and derive but little relief from the remembrance of the repeated and earnest remonstrances which were written by the Board to the Select Committee of Fort St. George upon this very subject.

I trust, gentlemen, that you will not fail to make an early and full representation to the Court of Directors of all the multiplied evils which have attended this single transaction.

Upon that portion of them which is the subject of this letter I must observe that it will be impossible for this Government to maintain the faith of the nation, while a dependent member of it shall perseveringly and systematically violate it, and violate it with impunity.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Secret Department,
Tuesday.

Fort William, the 8th June 1784.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 25th ultimo.

Read the following letter from the Hon'ble the Governor-General :—

Lucknow, the 23rd May 1784.

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—In a very long letter dated the 2nd of April I represented to you the distressed state of the province of Benares, and the misconduct of the naib, and the necessity of applying some early measures to prevent what I apprehended would be the consequence of his continuance and the want of a due system of control. I have not yet been favored with your answer, and suspect that my disappointment in this instance may have arisen from your disapproval of the offer which I made of my services for the establishment of a system for the administration of that province, and perhaps an unwillingness to give my proposal a direct and unpleasant refusal.

To me personally, provided an adequate system is established, it is of little consequence through whom it is effected. But to our employers, and the inhabitants of an extensive territory under our Government, it is of great consequence that some better system should be established, and in this the credit of our administration in general is deeply concerned, independent of the motives which we must possess in common. For my own part I have had the sensible mortification of being an eye-witness of evils which I could not redress, and I have seen the hopes of a suffering people, raised by the approach of the superior member of your administration, whilst I felt that instead of being able to afford them relief I could only send them away with disappointment.

It is my duty to represent to you again that some changes ought to be made and speedily; that the present naib must be removed, and a system of some control placed over whomever it may be determined to substitute in his stead; or some entire new mode of superintendence established; or that the loss of the revenue, and disaffection of the people will be the infallible consequence of the present administration being suffered to remain.

If you shall think it improper, for whatever reason, to confide this temporary charge to me, I must still recommend and entreat that you will take the subject into your consideration, and apply such measures as your judgment may suggest for the security of the dominion and revenue of the province. I am sorry that the temper and current of the times compel me to obviate a conclusion which might be made one ground of objection by declaring that I have not the most distant idea of removing Mr. Fowke, of diminishing his influence, or of rendering his situation less eligible by any plan which I may have in contemplation. If I have furnished an argument against my own proposal by not describing the minute detail of it, I must beg leave to observe that much of this must be formed on the instant of execution, and will depend on circumstances arising out of it; and that until I have some encouragement to expect that the general plan, so far as I have determined it in my own breast, will be adopted, I do not know that I have a right to commit deserving men, who may be either named, or too plainly indicated by it, to the effects of private vengeance from those whose interests would be effected by the projected change in case it should not take place.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Read another letter as follows from the Hon'ble the Governor-General: —

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William.

Lucknow, the 26th May 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—I expect that Major Browne will arrive with the khillats and letters from the King to the Nabob Vizier and myself on the 28th, and propose, in compliance with the forms of respect prescribed and established for such occasions, to advance beyond the city to receive them. What changes this deputation will make in the situation or determinations of the Prince I cannot

say. I conceive none, for devoted as he professes himself in his submission to his father, he distinguishes acts done in his name by those who hold the rule over him from such as are spontaneously and manifestly his own; and he will scarcely choose to trust himself again in their hands after having incurred so many perils to effect his deliverance, and given them occasion for such alarms as they appear to have received from the apprehension of the consequences of his flight.

He has lately expressed much dissatisfaction with his actual situation and a desire to retire to Benares. I have rather encouraged than opposed this inclination, because his presence here is for many obvious reasons no less hurtful to the administration of the province than humiliating to himself; and many useful purposes may be attained in the maturity of time from his residence under the protection of our Government, exclusively of the immediate benefit which the King is likely to derive from the provision of such a resource against the worst designs of the men who have possession of his person and authority.

I shall be very unwilling to acquiesce in this proposal of the Prince if he shall decidedly make it before I have received your sanction for it, as it will be impossible to foresee all the consequences which may happen, or which may be suggested to the opinions of others, as likely to ensue from the idea of a connection so established between the Prince and the English nation. But he cannot remain here, and if he shall refuse, as he most probably will, to return to Delhi, our unkindness may throw him into some other dependency of eventual danger to the interests of our Government as the necessity impelling him will be disgraceful to it.

These circumstances considered, I request to be favoured with your instructions upon the point in question to which I shall strictly conform.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Agreed that the following reply be immediately sent to the Hon'ble the Governor-General:—

To the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General, &c.

Hon'ble Sir,—We have had the honor to receive your letter of the 26th ultimo, and have attentively considered the question which you have submitted to us in respect to the Prince Mirza Jewan Buckt.

Our letter of the 20th of last month will have acquainted you with our hope that you would be enabled to effect the return of the Shahzada to his father with safety and credit to the Prince. We not only continue in this hope, but beg leave to add to it our most earnest desire that your best efforts may be used for that purpose. The many inconveniences to the Company which will attend the residence of the Shahzada in any of their territories appear to us in such strong colors, that we cannot give our consent to it, and we wish it totally to be discouraged.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

Secret Department,
Fort William;
The 8th June 1784.

Secret Department,
Wednesday.

Fort William, the 30th June 1784.

At a Council, present:

The Hon'ble Edward Wheler,
John MacPherson, Esq.
John Stables, Esq.
The Governor-General, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 22nd instant.

Read another letter as follows from the Hon'ble the Governor-General:—

To EDWARD WHELER, Esq., Council, &c., Fort William, dated Lucknow, the 13th June 1784.

GENTLEMEN,—In one of the letters which I had the honor to receive from you, both dated the 20th ultimo, you are pleased to write in reply to mine of the 2nd, concerning the zemindary of Benares, that "you shall be happy to be made acquainted with my intended plan for the reformation of the country," and that "you shall readily adopt any checks which I may think likely to be effectual for securing the happiness of the people and the equal collection and regular payment of the revenue without encroaching upon the rights which have been established to the Raja by the agreement which I made with him in 1781."

I have already observed to you that it was impossible for me to form a plan so complete and absolute, but that it would necessarily require some alteration at the time of its execution; and I also assigned such reasons as I doubt not will have satisfied you of the propriety of my reserving the communication of the plan, which I might have to recommend till I had the encouragement of some assurance from you that it would be favourably received. I conceive that the last recited paragraph of your letter conveys to me such an assurance; and upon the strength of it I now write, as I should have written upon the instant receipt of it if I could have found leisure for it, to offer to you the plan which you require; and I request that you will not ascribe it to impatience that I urge your speedy answer to it for the reasons which I have already stated and my own special use in the allotment of the time of my return.

I believe you will find the plan strictly conformable to the engagements under which the zemindary is held by the present Raja; if more is meant by the relative situation of our Government to Benares, perhaps you may allude to the distance at which the management of the province in detail has been hitherto kept from the knowledge of the Board, which satisfied with receiving the amount of its stipulated rent has seldom thought proper to interfere in its internal administration. In this construction also I have endeavoured to conform to your instructions; the checks which I have prepared being not so much intended for the security of the Company's rent as the faithful administration of the charge held by the representative of the Raja, to whom we owe that attention while we preclude him from the direct management and authorize an intermediate agency for his behalf. Whenever he shall be qualified to execute that charge for himself and fulfil his engagement with the Company, I presume that the Board will leave him in the entire and uncontrolled management, but this privilege cannot extend of right to those appointed under him by any other authority than his own.

I beg leave to remind you, gentlemen, that one of the evils which I enumerated as resulting from the present administration of the province was that the rights of the Raja of Benares, and of course the faith of our Government, which was pledged for their observance, had been utterly disregarded. You will therefore readily be assured that I shall not "encroach" or propose anything which will have such a tendency "on the rights which have been established to him by the agreement made with him in 1781."

I now submit the plan to your consideration. It is this:—

1st.—That the Raja be appointed and declared the principal in all official acts of the zemindary; that he shall sit, as often as he shall choose it, in the cutchery; that on such occasions all accounts and reports and other official business shall receive his inspection, and his name, seal, and signature shall be used for the authentication of all orders and instruments to which by the custom of his predecessors they were used to be affixed. But he is neither to conduct the business himself nor interfere in it further than may be necessary for his instruction, nor refuse or delay his authentication of such papers as shall be presented to him.

2nd.—That Baboo Ajail Sing, the brother of Ramu Gulab Coor, the widow of Raja Bulwant Sing, be appointed the naib or deputy of the Raja, with the entire management and administration of the zemindary, and his approbation in the official term *munzoor* shall be added to all instruments to which the Raja's signature is affixed.

3rd.—That Ali Ibrahim Cawn be appointed amin or inspector to assist the naib with his advice respecting the formation of the settlement, the new appointments of aumils or officers of the collections and other important measures relative to the zemindary, which the naib shall duly report to him for that purpose; and shall transmit to the naib the complaints which shall be referred to him by the canongoes in the manner specified in the following article. In all the instances premised the amin is only to advise but is not to command. The decision is to rest solely with the naib, who in the cases of complaints shall cause an enquiry to be made into them by one person appointed by himself on the part of the Raja, and another by the amin; the judgment to rest as has been before provided with the naib only.

4th.—That the canongoes of every pergana and other division where by old custom they have been stationed shall have full charge of their offices; that they shall have access to all mofussil papers and take and keep copies of them; that they shall receive and represent complaints from the ryots, and if they shall be ill founded, they shall endeavour to pacify the ryots and dissuade them from assembling and complaining on frivolous occasions, but if they shall appear well-founded, they shall refer them to the aumils, and in case of the aumils' neglect or inattention they shall transmit the same to the amin who shall refer them for enquiry as above to the naib. The canongoes shall send abstract accounts to the amin, who shall cause them to be registered and keep them as accounts of perpetual record.

5th.—That Mr. Fowke shall receive from the Raja and his naib the monthly payments of the Company's revenue in Muahlidar rupees and give receipts for each. The Raja and his naib shall report to him the names of such aumils as they shall have chosen for the management of the districts, the plan formed for the settlement of the revenue and other business of consequence relative to the zemindary. But the aumils shall receive their appointment and investiture only from the Raja and his naib. If any complaints shall be made to Mr. Fowke he shall refer them to the naib, and they shall be enquired into and decided in the manner mentioned in the 3rd article. When parties of sepoys shall be wanted for any occasion the Raja and his deputy shall make application to Mr. Fowke in writing with the forms above prescribed in the 1st and 2nd articles, and Mr. Fowke, if he approves of the same, shall accordingly apply to the officer commanding either at Chunargur or Baxar, specifying the services required, and in like manner applications shall be made by the Raja and his naib to Mr. Fowke for the recall of such parties, and for these purposes the commanding officers of Chunargur and Baxar shall be ordered to conform literally to his requisitions in the first instance, but in emergent cases the officers commanding detached parties shall receive their instructions from Mr. Fowke, and Mr. Fowke shall enter in a book in the order of their dates all such applications made to him, and all such official acts done by him in consequence, and shall transmit the same every three months to the Board.

6th.—That the Raja and his naib shall establish a cutchery or office of treasury for the amdamny or current receipts of revenue, and Mr. Fowke and the Amin shall appoint a muttasuddie jointly, or one on the part of each, who shall sit in the said cutchery and keep a separate copy or copies of the accounts, of the daily receipts and disbursements.

7th.—That after payment of the stipulated kists or monthly sums due to the Company according to the fixed agreement with the Raja, and necessary provision made for the allowances of officers and current expences of the collections, the surplus shall be appropriated to the private expenses of the Raja, and as a fund for the extraordinary expenses of the zemindary, such as tuccavy, the repairs of forts and pools and dikes and bridges and other emergent occasions.

I beg leave to obviate an objection which may occur on the first view of this plan, namely, that the power given to the Amin is in effect none, since he can only inspect and advise without decision or even an authority to suspend the execution of any measures which he may disapprove. And his office may appear to approach too near to that assigned to the Resident, so as to be at best useless and liable to many of the ill consequences which attend a diversity of opinion. In truth I do not propose this as a permanent arrangement. The time will not admit of it, the constitution of the superior state is yet undetermined. I will be answerable for the effect of it as a temporary expedient, for such is the opinion entertained of the wisdom and integrity of Ali Ibrahim Cawn, that the *naib* will respect his opinions, and will at least fear to commit any gross neglect or misdemeanour with such an eye constantly regarding him. The present naib has no check and dares to presume upon it even with expressions of defiance. The authority given to the Resident will add to the influence of the Amin while they are in terms of mutual confidence. It is dangerous to commend Mr. Fowke, for his friends, I am sure not with his consent, have must ungenerously taken the advantage of former testimonies which I have given in his favor to reproach me with them. This shall not induce me to withhold the acknowledgment of his real merits on an occasion connected with them. I believe him to possess much gentleness of manners and a well-cultivated understanding, and therefore well suited to bear his part in a charge assigned him with such an assistant as Ali Ibrahim Cawn.

I hope that neither the present nor any future administration will think of committing the inferior detail to the control of a British subject. We have already too many English collectors in our own dewanny districts. To establish them in this would be to subvert the rights of the family, to injure the revenues, and to loosen the attachment of the ryots which it will be ever good policy to conciliate.

With respect to the character of Ajait Sing, the intended naib, he is generally respected and reputed to be well qualified for the office. He is the choice of the Raja and the old Rani, and in a charge of such a kind I presume that you will allow them a right of choice, if the object of it is in other respects unexceptionable, for if the Raja himself was capable of the management we could not with any show of justice transfer it to any other from him.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

LUCKNOW,
The 13th June 1784.

Mr. Wheler begs leave to put the following question to the Members of the Board:—

Shall the plan submitted to us by the Governor-General for the collection of the revenues of the zemindary of Benares receive the sanction of this Government?

MR. STABLES.—I do not wish to make any alteration for the present in the management of the zemindary of Benares, the kists having been regularly paid up by the present naib as we are informed by the Resident's letter of the 27th ultimo, and no complaint having been made by the Resident against the conduct of that naib.

Mr. Stables' opinion.

MR. MACPHERSON.—The present Raja of Benares possesses, I imagine, a power from his sunnud to appoint or dismiss his own naib, but the Raja is acknowledged or supposed to be incapable of exercising a proper judgement in such cases. The present naib was confirmed by this Government in December 1782, and except in the appearances of oppression which the Governor-General saw on his route through Benares, and the complaints then made to him by the natives, the members of the Board are uninformed in regard to the mal-administration of that naib. He appears to have paid up the Raja's kists regularly, nor has the Resident made any complaints against him.

Mr. MacPherson's opinion.

The regulations proposed by the Governor-General are stated to be an expedient, and he pledges his own responsibility for the success of the arrangement. In consideration of these assurances on the part of the Governor-General, and as it appears from his letter *that Ajait Sing is the choice of the Raja and Rani*, I shall agree to his appointment with the checks which the Governor-General proposes—I mean those of the canongoes and Amin which promise a security to the ryot. There appears to me an objection to that part of the Governor-General's first proposition, which declares that the Raja shall not refuse or delay his authentication of such papers, &c., or orders as shall be presented to him by the naib. The influence of such a regulation might be understood, but the regulation itself should not be publicly declared or enforced by our Government. I imagine the naib will always have sufficient influence to obtain these sanctions from the Raja, and the consideration that this power rests ultimately in the Raja, though he may have little capacity, may be necessary for his protection and consequence.

MR. WHELER.—In my minute of the 19th of last month recorded on our proceedings of the 20th, I delivered my opinion on the reply which I thought proper to be given to the Governor-General's letter of the 2nd April in respect to the condition of the zemindary of Benares. "I regretted that the Governor-General had not communicated to us the plan by which he intended to accomplish the re-formation of the country because the subject would have been then completely before us, and our resolutions on it might have been as instant as he wished; and I proposed that the Governor-General should be requested to lay before us the whole of his intended plan, on receiving which we should determine finally on his letter, and if he should conceive that bad consequences to the Company or a failure of revenue might ensue from this delay in our resolution that we should give our sanction to the Governor-General for the dismission of the present naib, and for the appointment of any person who is at present an inhabitant of the country of Benares, whose qualifications are suited to the charge, who is known and respected by the people, and whose trust shall be exclusively confined to the management of the zemindary to succeed to the office now held by Jaggerdeo Sing."

Mr. Wheler's opinion.

In the letter addressed by the Board to the Governor-General on the 20th of last month they expressed themselves as follows:—

"We shall be happy to be made acquainted with your intended plan for the reformation of the country, and make no doubt that you will keep in view the particular circumstances in which this Government is situated with respect to Benares. We wish as much as possible to avoid frequent changes in the administration of the collections from the consequences which such changes must inevitably produce. We shall readily adopt any checks which you may think likely to be effectual for securing the happiness of the people, and the equal collection and regular payment of the revenue, without encroaching upon the rights which have been established to the Raja by the agreement which you made with him in 1781.

"We are much concerned at those appearances of oppression which you observed in your progress through the zemindary, and wish it may be in the power of this Government to apply a sufficient and permanent remedy."

The Governor-General has now submitted his plan to our consideration, and desires our early decision on it. The Raja is represented as incapable of the management of the zemindary, and the Governor justly observes that if he were otherwise, we could not with any show of justice transfer the management of it from him to any other person. His incapacity has been long a subject of our belief, and it was also known to us that the Raj was bestowed on Baboo Mehipnarain in the year 1781 merely because he was the next lineal heir to it. I consider him in the light of a minor zemindar, who has the nominal charge of a country by right of inheritance, but as he is not able to manage it a dewan or naib is appointed to manage it for him. The office of Naib of Benares was given by the Governor-General in 1781 to Doorbijey Sing, the father of Raja Mehipnarain. Doorbijey Sing behaved ill and was guilty of oppressions, and was therefore removed from the niabut at the end of 1782. He was succeeded by Jaggerdeo Sing; but this man is also represented to us by the Governor-General as oppressive, and the Governor-General proposes his removal from office. It is true that he has discharged the Raja's kists with regularity, but if the people grieve under his management, and if the country is desolated, no time should be lost in removing him, and with him, if possible, the evils that are complained of; and this opinion I deliver at the same time that I coincide entirely in that of the Board that we ought to avoid as much as possible frequent changes in the administration of revenue collections, yet I would not on this principle persist in allowing the continuance of an evil reported to us by the first authority, when it is thought that such evil may be stopped, because such allowance must ultimately tend to the ruin of the country, and in the present instance of a country which has until lately been esteemed above every one in India for its fertility.

The Governor-General's plan proposes checks which he informs us are "not so much intended for the security of the Company's rent as the faithful administration of the charge held by the representative of the Raja to whom we owe that attention, while we preclude him from the direct management and authorize an intermediate agency for his behalf;" but I suppose that the Company's rent cannot be prejudiced by the plan since the Governor does not propose diminution of it; and there is nothing in the spirit of the plan which I conceive will have that tendency. It is proposed as a temporary expedient, and the Governor declares that he will be answerable for the effect of it as such. He has the greatest reliance on the wisdom and integrity of Ali Ibrahim Cawn. He acquaints us that the same opinion is universally entertained of him. Ajait Sing, the person recommended to be the naib in the room of Jaggerdeo Sing, is represented to us by the Governor-General to be generally respected, and reputed to be well qualified for the office. We are informed that he is the Rani's brother, and that he is her choice and the choice of the Raja. The allotment to the canongoes of the full charge of their offices seems to be very proper and well calculated for the happiness of the people.

I acquiesce, therefore, in the plan, leaving the responsibility for its effect as a temporary expedient with the Governor-General, but I agree with Mr. MacPherson to an exception of that part of the plan which proposes that the Raja "shall not refuse or delay his authentication of such (proceedings) papers as shall be presented to him." It may be supposed that this will never happen, but we ought not to prescribe what may bear even the construction of an injury to the Raja's rights.

EDWARD WHELER.

Resolved that the Governor-General be authorized to carry into execution the plan submitted to us in his letter of the 13th instant, the Governor being responsible for its effect as a temporary expedient, and an exception being made to that part of the 1st article of it which proposes that the Raja shall not refuse or delay his authentication of such papers as shall be presented to him.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 48 F. D.—18-7-89.—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 6th July to 2nd September 1784.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 13th July 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

The HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 6th instant.

The following report having been delivered by the Accountant-General on the accounts lately received from Lucknow, it was circulated, and the opinions of the Members of the Board as entered after it were delivered on the question submitted in the report.

Read the following letter from the Governor-General :—

Governor-General, 20th June.

GENTLEMEN,—The Nabob Vizier having finally agreed to the adjustments in the account current between him and the Hon'ble Company, as stated by Mr. Larkins, the Accountant-General, I have the pleasure to inform you that the acting Minister this day presented to me an amended account under the seal of the Vizier, brought up to the 31st of May, which I have delivered to Mr. Wombwell, the Accountant at this place, to be deposited amidst the records of his department. I have also affixed my signature to a similar amount which will be deposited among the records of the Vizier's Government.

The accounts thus settled and interchanged were drawn out in the Persian language, but Mr. Wombwell will forward with his official monthly accounts an English abstract of the Vizier's account with the Company from the 1st of February to the 31st May last, which corresponds with the Persian account nterchanged betwixt the Vizier and me.

I beg leave to apologize to you for the delay which has been made by Mr. Wombwell in transmitting to you the monthly accounts as they were detained from time to time in expectation of this adjustment being completed.

It is necessary that I should observe that this adjustment is independent of the claims what the Vizier has submitted to you on account of his loss by batta, and of unauthorized appropriations of his payments to the late Resident. The former of these has been fully represented to you in my letter of the 14th instant; the latter was mentioned in my letter of the 5th April and being now under investigation will be more particularly stated to you hereafter. His Excellency will submit to your decisions on both these claims, but it is necessary that I should here express to you his desire that this adjustment may not be considered as precluding his right to any redress of which from the cases themselves you may think him entitled.

LUCKNOW,
The 20th June 1784.

I have the honour to be, &c.,
WARREN HASTINGS.

P. S.—As the differences which are thus adjusted have been accumulating for several years, they have of course become involved in a considerable degree of intricacy insomuch so that I believe the Vizier and his Ministers have acquiesced in admitting our claims more from a spirit of accommodation and a reliance on our accuracy formed on a clear comprehension of each article than from their own conviction of their propriety. I have long made these claims a particular object of my attention, and as I have not the smallest doubt of their propriety I strongly recommended this adjustment to the Vizier and his Ministers; they have acquiesced, but their acquiescence may perhaps be entirely

ascribed to my being on the spot, since all the endeavours which we have used to effect this adjustment for some years past through the Resident have failed. I consider this therefore as an important point gained, both because it substantiates claims of the Company to so considerable an amount, and because it obviates all future disputes on the subject betwixt us and the Vizier.

That no similar source of dispute may hereafter arise I have directed Mr. Wombwell to adjust and settle his accounts at the end of every month with the acting Minister of the Vizier, and to interchange them under their respective seals and signatures.

Read the following letter from the Hon'ble the Governor-General :—

GENTLEMEN,—When I first received a copy of the treaty of peace concluded between Tippoo Sultan and the Commissioners from Fort St. George, amongst other defects which I observed in it, and which I have already particularly pointed out to you, I regretted the total omission of the names of the Peishwa and Mahadaji Scindia. You will remember, gentlemen, that in the month of October last, Mahadaji Scindia wrote in a peremptory style to Tippoo Sultan requiring him to comply with the terms of peace settled by him in the 9th Article of the Treaty of Salbey. He at the same time entered into a conditional treaty with our Resident, in which a general plan of hostilities was sketched out to be carried on by the joint powers of the English and Mahratta States in case of Tippoo Sultan's refusal. And to encourage Mahadaji Scindia in his zeal to enforce the terms he had prescribed to Tippoo, and also to secure his effectual co-operation, in case the result of the negotiation should prove a renewal of the war, expectations were given him of his being supported by a body of our troops.

It was nearly about the same time that these negotations were passing in Scindia's camp that the Deputies proceeded from Fort St. George to treat with Tippoo Sultan. This measure, although it took place contrary to our inclinations and against our repeated refusal to allow it, yet having been undertaken with the sanction of recent orders from home, compelled us to depart in a degree from our first resolution, and the apprehension of thwarting its effects deterred us from advancing any further in the steps that we had concerted with Scindia. It appears, however, that Mahadaji Scindia was on his part steadily pursuing the plan which had been formed. He wrote letters to Tippoo, and to give them their necessary weight, he prevailed on the Peishwa's Ministers to march a grand army of Mahrattas towards Tippoo's frontiers and when he found that the situation of our affairs would not admit of our fulfilling the expectation given him of troops from this quarter, he readily listened to the suggestion of our Resident to apply for a body of our troops from Bombay, and we know that the Peishwa did apply accordingly.

Whilst matters were in this state peace was concluded through a separate channel, and the Mahrattas, after having manifested to the world the decided part they had taken, were left exposed to the consequence of Tippoo's resentment, since the treaty was settled without any provision for them, or even allusion to them, although the peace itself was dependent on the treaty with Scindia, and was in a great measure, if not absolutely, the effect of their vigorous interposition.

Under these circumstances I could not help apprehending that Scindia would feel himself severely mortified on receiving information of the manner in which the treaty had been concluded. I thought it necessary, therefore, to reconcile it to him, as far as I possibly could by writing a letter to him upon the occasion, in which, after declaring that the treaty was in every respect conformable to that of Salbey, I endeavoured to make up for the inattention which had been shown to his Government in the form of the treaty, by ascribing to him and the Mahratta State that degree of merit in the completion of it which I thought was simply their due. The accompanying extract of a letter from Mr. James Anderson, dated the 28th April, in which he recites the substance of a conversation that he held before the arrival of my letter with Bhow Bucksey on the subject of the new peace, will shew that my apprehensions were not without foundation. From the subsequent correspondence of that gentleman I

learned that my letter was received in the most favourable manner. Scindia felt that some declaration of this kind was necessary not only to preserve the consequence of the Mahratta Government in the eyes of its neighbours from being diminished by the inattention shewn towards it by the Deputies from Fort St. George, but also to justify himself to the Ministers of his superior for having led them into measures which, whatever might have been their effect with regard to the English Government, had been attended with no honour to the Mahratta State, and threatened to involve it in a war with Tippoo, of which the first movements were produced by a plan concerted with us, and our participation in it assured under a new engagement, but which they were now left to conduct by themselves. So strongly was Scindia impressed with these ideas that he thought it necessary to desire that a similar declaration should be given to him by the Board, and although he appeared at first satisfied with the objections which were made by Mr. James Anderson on the grounds of its being contrary to the forms of our constitution which prescribed that all correspondence with the princes of India should be carried on through the Governor-General singly, yet conceiving that he might still have this point at heart I authorised Mr. Anderson to inform him, if it should be necessary, that although it was not exactly agreeable to the custom of the English Government, yet in order to remove every ground of dissatisfaction, and to restore his credit at Poona, I would recommend it to the Board to authorise me to send him in their name a written declaration to the same effect as that contained in my letter to him. Mr. James Anderson accordingly mentioned this to Mahadaji Scindia, who received it with the highest satisfaction, and his Minister, Bhow Bucksey, who lately arrived here on a deputation of friendship from his masters, has since reminded me of it. I have in consequence taken the liberty of submitting to you the accompanying form of a letter to be written by me to Mahadaji Scindia, in the name and under the authority of the Board, if it shall obtain your sanction, which I earnestly solicit, as it appears to me, and I hope it will appear to you, a measure equally just and expedient.

I shall hereafter have occasion to enter more fully into the subject of the conferences I have held with Bhow Bucksey since his arrival at this place. In the mean time it is with pleasure I remark to you that everything which has lately passed either betwixt Mahadaji Scindia himself and our Resident at his camp, or in the conferences which I have held with his Minister, Bhow Bucksey, at this place, uniformly tend to manifest a strong disposition to cultivate and strengthen the friendship and connection established betwixt him and the English Government.

It is in some degree foreign to the present subject, yet I cannot refrain from imparting to you the pleasing satisfaction which I myself feel in observing the great and evident change that has within these few years taken place with regard to our Government in the opinions and dispositions of the principal powers of Hindustan. We seem now to have regained our proper weight in the political system, and the neighbouring States, who formerly shrunk from our advances, are eager to participate in our views, and to connect their interests with ours.

LUCKNOW,
The 26th June 1784.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Government of India Central Printing Office—53 F. D.—8 4-89—500.

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 2nd October to 28th December 1784.

Fort William, the 2nd October 1784.

AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

MR. STABLES, *absent on the river for the benefit of his health.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 2nd ultimo.

LUCKNOW, *the 25th August 1781.*

To—EDWARD WHELER, Esq., &c., Council, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—Soon after I had the honor to receive your letter of the 11th of May the Acting Minister of the Vizier laid before me a copy of a Persian account which he had received from Mr. Bristow explaining in what manner the sum of Rs. 14,01,508-3-2 had been appropriated, being the amount which I informed you in my letter of the 5th of April the Vizier alleged had not been brought to his credit in the Company's account, although it had been collected by Mr. Bristow from his aumils during the first month of the present Fuslee year 1191, or from the month of September 1783 to 31st January 1784.

Of this account I have now the honor to send you a translation (No. 1), from which you will observe that Mr. Bristow acknowledges that, independent of the money which he had brought to the Company's account, he had collected in rupees of different sorts 13,88,195-2-0 which, accordingly to his method of stating the batta, produced Sicca Rs. 11,41,729-15-0; that he had appropriated to various articles of expenditure Rs. 10,82,641-15-0; and the balance being rupees 59,187-15-3 is still unaccounted for; but Mr. Bristow in a note which is subjoined to the account says that this sum had also been expended, though as the particulars of the disbursements had not then been received from Lucknow he was obliged for the present to state it as a balance unaccounted for, and that a particular account of the expenditure should afterwards be sent.

The acting Minister informed me at the same time, that the Vizier was not satisfied with this account, and intimated his intention of submitting to me an exposition of it. He has accordingly delivered to me an account containing remarks on that of Mr. Bristow, and I have now the honor to send you a translation of it (No. 2). From this account you will observe that the Vizier states the amount collected at nearly the same sum as Mr. Bristow, being rupees of sorts, 14,01,722-14-10½, which, according to his method of calculating the batta, produces Sicca Rs. 13,30,191-4-4½. That he admits in part of the expenses charged by Mr. Bristow Rs. 8,79,649-1-8, and that the balance which he claims as due to him from that gentleman is Rs. 4,50,542-2-8½.

The Nabob Vizier expects and requires our assistance for the recovery of this balance from Mr. Bristow: in fact it is a claim against the Company, for as Mr. Bristow collected the money in virtue of his appointment as Agent of the Company, it is certainly incumbent on this Government to afford the Vizier redress without leading him to procure it from Mr. Bristow as an individual. The particulars of which this claim is composed are fully stated in the Vizier's

accounts, and except the article of batta, Rs. 1,74,933-9-1, and the excess in the collection of Khyragur Rs. 13,527-12-3½ which are explained in my letter of the 14th June, none of them seem to require explanation. I shall not therefore offer you any comments upon them. The state of this transaction is now fully before you, but whatever satisfaction you may think it necessary to afford to the Vizier, the conduct of Mr. Bristow in respect to the Company must still be a subject of consideration. I will in this place merely recite the facts. Mr. Bristow was appointed Resident on behalf of the Company with the Vizier, and one of the duties of his appointment was to receive the subsidy and recover the balance due from the Vizier to the Company. In virtue of this appointment he collected from September 1783 to the end of January 1784 rupees of sorts 32,98,569-14-2. But although the experiences and distresses of the Company at that time were such as to threaten our very existence, Mr. Bristow, instead of bringing this sum to the credit of his employers, for whose account it was collected, appropriated without their authority Rs. 13,88,195-2 to the payment of expenses which were not incurred on account of this Government and which had at no time received its sanction.

These are indubitable facts, and they will perhaps be considerably aggravated if it shall appear from what has already been said that these sums were disbursed without the orders or even the knowledge of the Vizier who thought he had liberally admitted a very considerable part of these charges, certainly at first expected that the whole amount collected should have been brought into the Company's account in part payment of his debt amounting at that period to upwards of seventy lakhs of rupees.

I have the honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Ordered that Mr. Bristow be required immediately to account with the Vizier for the balance claimed by His Highness, to explain by whose authority he disbursed money collected for the Company's use, and appropriated to purposes which are stated not to have received the sanction of this Government or that of the Vizier, and that he be further called upon to explain why he has not hitherto given any satisfaction to the Board on the points referred to him for explanation from the former letters of the Governor-General of 14th June and 13th August.

E. WHELER.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 8th October 1784.

Friday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT :

THE HON'BLE EDWARD WHELER, ESQ.

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

MR. STABLES, *absent on the river for the benefit of his health.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 2nd instant.

MR. WHELER having gone to Suksagur for the benefit of his health, and MR. MACPHERSON having accompanied him to that place, the following letter and enclosures from the Governor-General are now read :—

BENARES, *the 20th September 1784.*

To—EDWARD WHELER, Esq., &c., Council, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—I avail myself of the first leisure which has been afforded me since my departure from Lucknow to advise you of the progress and close of my proceedings at that capital, and the state of your claims on the Nabob Vizier.

Governor-General, 20th September, and enclosure.

You will be pleased to recollect that on the 27th of December last the Board agreed to the removal of Mr. Bristow and to the suspension of his office, upon the express conditions that the Nabob Vizier would engage to discharge the whole amount of his arrears and growing debt to the Company in the course of that and the ensuing Fuslee year ending on the 20th August 1785; that he would produce the security of creditable shroffs for the same; and that I would bear the whole responsibility for the rectitude of the measure. That these conditions having been performed, and the Nabob having further solicited the aid of my presence at Lucknow for the confirmation of his authority, and for the construction of such arrangements as might be necessary to ensure the complete execution of his engagements, I with the authority of the Board departed from the Presidency on the 17th of February and arrived at Lucknow on the 27th of the month ensuing.

I found the season of collection already past, and a long interval approaching of total inertion. This was a circumstance which I should have much regretted had I sought only to gain an ostensible credit from the instant acquisition of large payments on my first outset. But my objects were of a more permanent kind, and, if I may be allowed to apply such a term to acts reflective on my own credit, of a more liberal principle. These objects were three-fold: first to obtain the complete discharge of the arrears and growing debt of the Nabob Vizier to the Company within the stipulated period of the ensuing year; secondly, to assist in putting his finances in such a state as should enable him with ease to acquit himself of the fixed monthly engagements as they became due, and to possess a sufficiency in reserve for the necessary claims of his own administration; and the third, and not least essential to the interests and honor of our Government, to fix him in the independent possession of his own dominion, by precluding as the consequence of the two former, every plea for the exercise of a double authority in the interference of a British Agent.

Upon the same principle I applied the sums which the last scanty payments of the collections, and the voluntary contribution of Almass Ally Cawn enabled the Acting Minister to pay into your treasury at Lucknow, to the discharge of the heavy arrears due, and running on with the hazard of the most licentious consequences, to the brigade, and other divisions of the army stationed within these provinces, in remittances to Bombay made with your express concurrence, and in official disbursements, not unaware of the distresses which the commerce of the presidency sustained from the scarcity of current specie, nor of the *eclât* which I might have personally derived from a transportation of the whole or a large portion of the amount in treasure to Calcutta. I should have suppressed this intimation, which is foreign from the immediate purpose of this letter, had it not been privately suggested to me that I had disappointed the popular expectation by not adopting the policy which I had on the conception of better grounds rejected.

The points which solicited my earliest attention were the formation of the settlement of the approaching year, and the retrenchment of expenses. The latter, a work in itself of great delicacy and obstruction, depended essentially on the former, and that on contingencies which imposed on me the mortification of suffering a long and indefinite term to pass in suspense and inaction before it could possibly be undertaken. The public revenue had declined with the failure of the cultivation in three successive years, and all the stores of grain which the providence of the husbandman had, as I am informed it is their custom,

in defiance of the vigilance of their aumil, clandestinely reserved for their own use, were of course exhausted; and another year of dearth, which the habit of repeated disappointment had taught the people to expect, would have proved no less fatal to the population than to the actual collections. In this state of apprehension no man of credit would accept of a charge of the collections on positive engagement. It was therefore necessary to wait the commencement of the season in which the rains usually fall before any steps could be taken in the ensuing settlement; nor was it till the 10th of July that the rain began to fall. From that date to the close of the last month it has been almost incessant; and the expectations of all men are raised to the production of a more abundant harvest than any that has been known in the course of many past years. The Minister aided by this providential blessing has concluded a settlement with men whom he has reported to me to have been selected for superior knowledge and responsibility, and whom I believe generally to merit his report of them, for a period of five, and some of six years, on an increasing jumma, *viz.*;—

			Rs.	a.	p.
Jumma	1192	Fuslee	2,20,65,639	13	0
	1193	„	2,44,50,504	6	3
	1194	„	2,66,05,326	6	3
	1195	„	2,87,11,326	6	3
	1196	„	3,06,93,035	10	9

The enclosure No. 1 contains an estimate taken at a large allowance of the whole of the Nabob's debt for the year 1192, and No. 2, the provision made and agreed for the complete discharge of it by monthly kistbundy or instalments.

Though it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of my transactions, since these have no other relation to the interests of the Company than in their final effect, yet there is one condition of the settlement of which you ought to be apprized, as it essentially connects the confirmation of the settlement itself with the interests of the Company. The aumils demanded that a clause should be inserted in their engagements that they were to be in full force for the complete term of their leases provided that no foreign authority was exercised over them; or, in other words, that their engagements were to cease whenever they should be interrupted in their functions by the interference of an English Agent. This requisition was officially notified to me by the Acting Minister, and referred to me in form by the Nabob Vizier for my previous consent to it. I encouraged it, and I gave my sanction to it. For the particulars of this transaction I refer you to my correspondence with the Nabob Vizier upon the subject in the enclosure No. 3.

The account No. 4 comprizes the state of the Nabob Vizier's debt at the close of the last year, and completes the information which I have possessed to communicate of the state of this concern. From this account you will observe that the Nabob Vizier has fulfilled his engagement down to the time of my departure from Lucknow, and that the balance due from him to the Company, which at the end of January last stood in the books of the Accomptant-General of Fort William at Company Rs. 72,95,656-4-7 was reduced at the end of August to Sicca Rs. 38,44,930-0-9, including the sum of Sicca Rs. 19,00,441-11-5 charged to the Nabob's debit in conformity to the books of the Accomptant-General.

In the estimate No. I, I have struck out the charge of the detachment commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings from the 1st of January 1785, the Nabob having a second time remonstrated against its continuance, both as being unnecessary, and a burthen which the impoverished state of his revenue could not bear, and therefore required that it should be wholly withdrawn. I have for these reasons given my assent to it, and have left a written order to that effect in the hands of Major Palmer, to be transmitted to Colonel Cummings as soon as an adequate force shall have been provided for the defence of that frontier by detachment from the Nabob's own battalions. The relief, whenever it takes place, may lead to a saving in our own expenses by the further reduction of the army; for I must revert on this occasion to the opinion which I have had

occasion more than once before to declare that the Company will gain nothing by the continuance of the detachment at the Nabob's charge in its present station, since he has not the means of defraying it; and whether it remains on the accounts of the Company, or be continued to swell the Nabob's with an accumulating debt which he cannot pay, its effect on the Company's fnnds will prove the same, while it holds out a deception to the public, and furnishes a plea for the future usurpation of the sovereignty of the country, and the private embezzlement of its treasure.

In the other disbursements of the Nabob Vizier, both personal and public, considerable savings have been made: but these would have proved insufficient to fulfil the Nabob's engagements without other expedients. The Begums and the Nabob Salar Jung, to whom their jaghirs have been restored, conformably to the Company's orders, and more so to the inclinations of the Nabob Vizier, who went to Fyzabad for the express purpose of making a respectful tender of them in person to the Begums, have made a voluntary concession of a large portion of their respective shares; and the Nabob Saadut Ally Cawn has been required to submit, but I will not say voluntarily, to a tax of one lakh of his allotted income, not so much for the increase which so small a sum would make to the public treasury as to preclude the just cause of offence which might have been taken at his being partially exempted. The Ministers have in like manner contributed their share of relief by the resignation of three-fourths of their ressom or commission of office. The like concession was made by them in the adjustments of the last year's accounts, to the amount of seven lakhs deducted from the full sum of their commission, which was 9,98,519 rupees. In both instances the sacrifice was entirely spontaneous, and even unsolicited. The difference which yet remained to complete the payments of the year has been provided for by an accommodation with the Shroffs, and may be considered as an anticipation of the next year's income, which, if the system which has been thus far happily established remains unmolested, it will easily bear.

I have singular pleasure in adding that I have received the strongest assurances from the Nabob himself of his determination to abide by the late arrangement; and have equal ground to expect every degree of support which can be given to it by the influence of the first characters of his family, who are all warmly and zealously interested in the event of it.

To conclude: I have thus far attained the objects of my mission, and provided in the means and course of one year for the complete discharge of a debt which has been the accumulation of many, notwithstanding the difficulties which I have had to surmount, in the lasting effects of the failure of the natural rains in the three preceding years, and what is still worse, from causes which created a total suspension of all the springs of Government during the course of the last.

I reserve my final report and other observations upon it to the period of my departure from this place.

I have already advised you of my departure from Lucknow on the 27th ultimo. The Nabob Vizier accompanied me some stages of my journey by land, and was with difficulty dissuaded from proceeding with me to Benares, having provided boats for his conveyance. The Prince is here, and will, I fear, prove a cause of my detention beyond the term required by the settlement of this province, which you have been pleased to entrust to my charge, and of which little remains to complete it. Nor will this delay be wholly unserviceable to my late transactions at Lucknow, as I am still near enough to attend to the first effects of their execution, and to interpose my influence for the removal of any obstructions to which they are or may be liable. But I do not apprehend that my stay will exceed the middle of next month.

I have the honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Received 25th August 1784

From—His Highness the Nabob Vizier,

To—The Hon'ble the Governor-General.

(*Usual introduction.*)

The former circumstances of my loss of authority, the power of the English gentlemen over the aumils of my Government, the derangement of my country, and the disorder which on these accounts had pervaded the whole of my affairs have been fully evident. No one had an opportunity of regulating my country, and my officers endured various injuries and false accusations under constant dread for their honor. You have now from your bounty and kindness restored to me my authority over my country, and in this short period of time the ease and security of the public and the aumils, and the order which has taken place in my country, are fully evident. You have yourselves beheld and from your own bounty every one passing his time in honor, reputation, and satisfaction, each day as a festival and each night as a rejoicing. The revenues have been paid with that exactness, that not an instant of delay has occurred. Now that a plan of settlement for the country and the arrangement of affairs for five years has taken place, the aumils from remembrance of former injuries request from me satisfactory assurances, observing that if there shall be no interference of the gentlemen, and the authority and power of the Sirkar remain fixed, they will with satisfaction of mind engage in the business of the Sirkar, the arrangement of the country, and making good the revenues of Government, but if, as formerly, they shall be troubled by the interference of gentlemen, the conduct of affairs and arrangement of the country cannot be effected by them. Accordingly I have sent you a copy of the request written by all the aumils and the assurances of satisfaction they demand from me. It will arrive inclosed in this letter. Order in my affairs has by the divine blessing and your kindness taken place, and I hope in future further favors from you. I am every way ready to pay the money of the Company in the manner which has been settled. By God's help it shall be paid and no deviation occur. For the satisfaction of the aumils, I will do as you may direct. You will from your kindness have in view, that if any usurpation of my authority shall again happen, the plan which has in your own presence been established for the regulation of my country, will be ruined and the aumils will one and all retire from employment. In such a case I shall be helpless and must come with my family to Calcutta.

(*Concludes as usual.*)

Sowal of ALMASS ALLY CAWN and the other aumils of the Government of the Nabob Vizier al Momalie ASSOPH-UL-DOWLA BAHADUR, as enclosed in his letter of the 7th of Showal or 25th of August 1784.

Formerly the English gentlemen behaved to us in such a manner, without cause or fault on our sides, that there was no leisure for us to manage the country with satisfaction. Such severities and false accusations were used towards us that we were in constant dread for our honors and lives. From Your Highness our sovereign's loss of authority, being helpless, we had resolved in order to save our lives and honor on retiring from employment.

Now that by the divine blessing and the bounty of the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, the authority of Your Highness in the country is re-established, we have agreed, according to Your Highness' orders, to an arrangement of the country for five years. By the divine blessing and Your Highness' auspices, the country will be settled in a proper manner and flourish, and the revenues of the Sirkar be paid. We dread lest hurt should again happen to Your Highness' authority, and that of the gentlemen take place. In such case the management of the country cannot be undertaken by us. We will then retire from employment and attend in menial services, as becomes our duty, on Your Highness. We hope from Your Highness' goodness and benevolence that satisfactory assurances on this point will be superscribed by Your Highness.

Despatched 26th August 1784.

From—The Hon'ble the Governor-General,

To—His Highness the Nabob Vizier.

(*Usual introduction.*)

Your gracious letter intimating the "correction of past disorders and the restoration of the affairs of your Government in so short a space of time owing to the establishment of Your Highness' authority, the ease of the public and the satisfaction of the aumils, confirmed in such a manner that the revenues have been paid without trouble, also that now as a plan for the regulation of the country and settlement of affairs for five years has taken place, the aumils, looking back to former injuries, want assurances from Your Highness, so that if the influence of English gentlemen shall not prevail and the authority of Your Highness remain fixed, they may with satisfaction of heart engage in managing their countries and making good the revenues of the Sirkar, with a copy of the request of all the aumils to one effect, which they have presented to Your Highness" having made its gracious arrival, informed me fully on every point.

I regard the welfare of Your Highness' house and the payment of the Company's debt prior to every other object. As Your Excellency has given a written agreement and kistbundy for the payment of the Company's money, use your endeavors to pay it accordingly—set your mind at ease on every point—and give assurances satisfactory to your aumils, that in case of the payment of the Company's debt agreeable to the stipulated engagements, there never can happen the most trifling innovation on this plan and settlement or on Your Highness' authority. No difference can in any way happen which I have already written to you before.

(*Usual conclusion.*)

Secret Dept., Fort William, 1st November 1784.

Monday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE JOHN MACPHERSON.

THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent on a visit to the Nabob Vizier.*

MR. STABLES, *absent on the river for the benefit of his health.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 8th instant.

Read the following letter from the Governor-General:—

BENARES, *the 1st October 1784.*

To—EDWARD WHELER, Esq., and Council, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—Whilst I was employed in settling the accounts betwixt the Company and the Vizier, one circumstance escaped my attention, which I think worthy of consideration. I mean the hardship which the Vizier sustains from the army subsidy being kept up at its original rate although the number of troops employed by us for the defence of his dominions has been greatly reduced. That you may have the subject fully before you I will beg leave to recite the progressive arrangements which have been made relative to the subsidy.

Governor-General, 1st October.

In the treaty concluded betwixt the late Nabob Shujah-ul-Dowlah and myself at Benares in September 1773, it was settled that when the Vizier had occasion to demand the aid of our troops he should pay for the expense of a

brigade 2,10,000 rupees of the Oude currency per month; this was grounded on an accurate estimate of the actual expense, and it was particularly specified that a brigade should consist of two battalions of Europeans, six battalions of sepoys, and one company of artillery. The number of sepoys which according to our establishment at that time formed a battalion was 640, so that the whole number of sepoys of which a brigade ought to have consisted was 3,240.

The rate of the subsidy was afterwards raised by a subsequent treaty with Assoph-ul-Dowlah from 2,10,000 to 2,60,000 rupees per month, but without any alteration being made respecting the number of troops.

In September 1781, when I met the Vizier at Chunar, an alteration had taken place in our establishment and instead of battalions of 640 men our brigades were composed of regiments of 1,000. It was then stipulated between the Vizier and me that he should pay for no more troops than the number of European infantry, artillery, and sepoys agreed for under the title of one brigade with the late Nabob Shujah-ul-Dowlah, with one additional regiment at Lucknow for the protection of the office of the Resident for which a separate payment was to be made of Rs. 25,000. According to this agreement, which continues in force, the number of sepoys stationed in the Vizier's provinces ought to be as follows :—

	Sepoys.
Number stipulated for on account of the old subsidy . . .	3,840
Additional regiment	1,000
TOTAL .	4,840

The force actually maintained for some time after the execution of the above agreement consisted of five regiments at Cawnpoor and at Lucknow, composed of 1,000 men each, so that the Vizier had in fact a greater number of men during that period than the quota stipulated.

But when a general reduction of our army took place on the conclusion of peace, each regiment was reduced from 1,000 to 700 men, and the force in native troops which has since been and still continues in Oude is only as follows :—

	Sepoys.
Five Regiments at Cawnpoor of 700 each	3,500
1 Do. at Lucknow	700
TOTAL .	4,200

So that the Nabob has only 4,200 of our sepoys instead of 4,840. The deficiency being 640, is exactly equal to the number which composed a battalion on the former establishment, and only 60 less than one of our present regiments.

Neither the Vizier nor any of his Ministers have ever mentioned to me this deficiency, but it is not the less our duty to take it into consideration. In all our adjustments of accounts with the Vizier for many years back, we have been regulated by the strictest regard to justice, and the Vizier on his part has on every occasion relied most implicitly on our justice as well as on the accuracy of our Accomptant-General. Let us then confirm that confidence which is so happily reposed in us by pointing out mistakes even although we must be losers by correcting them.

It will perhaps be alleged that although the number of sepoys is less, the expense incurred by us for our troops at Cawnpoor is greater than it was at the time when the treaty was made with Shujah-ul-Dowlah, which has continued the basis of all subsequent agreements. And further that although the number of sepoys is less, the number of staff and officers is greater. It may also be alleged that although the force at Cawnpoor since the reduction has been less than what is prescribed by treaty, yet before that for a considerable time it

was greater. But these arguments are in fact groundless for the Nabob might with truth reply that he has no concern with our arrangements, that it is the number and not the expense of our troops which is specified in the treaty, and that it is the number of sepoys not of officers and staff which forms their effective strength. That if the number of our sepoys was greater before the reduction than was prescribed by the treaty, it was occasioned by an act of our own, and not in consequence of his request, and that if we were to proceed on such rigid principles with him he might with equal justice swell his pleas by pointing out the deficiencies in our corps of European infantry and artillery, the former of which has never at any time consisted of half of its proper complement. In speaking of the troops stationed with the Vizier I have confined myself to the brigade at Cawnpoor and regiment at Lucknow without taking notice of the force under Sir John Cumming, at Futtyghur, because it forms rather a temporary detachment than a regular standing army, although I must observe that as a similar reduction has taken place in the regiments of which it was composed without any diminution being admitted of the subsidy which was settled for defraying the expense of it, an additional argument may be deduced from it to shew that the Vizier has a right to some redress from our Government.

As the easiest and most equitable method of reconciling our present arrangements to strict justice, I would recommend that the regiment at Lucknow should be again included under the troops for which the original subsidy was settled; that credit should be given to the Vizier in our accounts for the amount of the subsidy with which he has been separately charged for that regiment from the time of the reduction; and that to entitle us to receive this separate subsidy in future an additional regiment should be sent up to Cawnpoor, which will restore matters as nearly as our present establishment will admit to the footing of the treaty, and will render the force at Cawnpoor a respectable army fully adequate to the defence of the western frontier.

I have the honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Ordered that the foregoing letter lie for the consideration of a fuller Board.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 23rd November 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 11th instant.

Read the following letter and enclosures from the Governor-General:—

BENARES, *the 21st October 1784.*

To—JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq., Council, Fort William.

GENTLEMEN,—Some weeks before my departure from Lucknow I issued orders to Mr. Fowke, Ally Ibrahim Cawn, Raja Myhipnarain, and Baboo Ajaib Sing

Governor-General, 21st October, four enclosures.

to carry into execution the plan which I had formed with your approbation for the administration of the Government and revenues of this province. On my arrival therefore at this place on the 12th of September I found that the new arrangements had already taken effect, that a considerable progress had been made in forming the mofussil settlement, and consequently that there remained little for me to do except to receive the Raja's kistbundy, to confirm by the sanction of my authority the measures already adopted, and to give solidity to the system of administration newly established by habituating the members of it under my own inspection to the exercise of the duties of their respective stations. But as the political negotiations impending at Agra, and the recent arrangements in the Province of Oude, seemed to require my presence in this part of the country for some time longer, I was desirous of employing the intermediate period in examining more minutely the state of this province, and enquiring into the causes which, independent of the oppression of its late ruler, had tended to promote either its prosperity or declension, and in proportion as I should discern circumstances having one or other of these tendencies, it was my intention to have taken measures for improving or obviating them.

In the midst of these pursuits the melancholy intelligence which I yesterday received from Calcutta imposes upon me a necessity superior to every other consideration of immediately returning to my place at the Board, and I am obliged to bring my proceedings here to an abrupt conclusion.

I have the honor to lay before you a translation of the kistbundy which was this day executed by Raja Myhipnarain for the amount of his annual tribute to the Company for the present Fuslee year 1192. It corresponds with those of former years in respect to the sum total, but differs in the proportions or kists stipulated for each month. In the kistbundy which was settled with me by the Raja in 1781 a very heavy payment was reserved for the latter months. This was an indulgence which the Raja pressingly solicited for that year, and it was necessary at that particular time when the country was just emerged from a state of universal rebellion, and when the credit and authority of the new Government were still imperfectly established, although the season for collecting the revenue was far advanced. But it was not understood either by the Raja or myself that it should be extended as it has been to subsequent years. Every one conversant in the collection of the revenues knows that the monthly kists of the ryots or cultivators must be regulated by the resources or the produce of the harvests, and the aggregate of their kists must be the rule for proportionating the demand in the different stages of collection from the ryots up to the Government. If the demand anticipates in any great degree the resources the renter must either fail in his payments, or have recourse to methods of raising money that will terminate in the ruin of himself and his country. In the same manner if the demand follows at too great a distance, the resources will probably be dissipated or the difficulty of collecting them increased. On these principles I was induced to propose an alteration to the Raja, which I have the pleasure to inform you he readily agreed to, and the present kistbundy is accordingly drawn out on an inspection of his own settlement with the mofussil aumils and farmers.

The Raja has presented to me a paper of requests, translation of which and my answer is enclosed with this address.

You will observe that these answers are drawn out in terms, which, without conveying any new rights to the Raja, will confirm to him the more secure enjoyment of those he already possesses.

The Rani has requested that her grandson, the Raja, may be secured in the possession of the districts of Khura and Magrora, alleging that they have long been separated from the jumma of Government and reserved as a jagheeri for the maintenance of her family, of which he is the representative. The claim, I believe, is just, and I have accordingly granted a sunnud confirming the Raja in the possession of these districts. But as I am desirous that this transaction should be ratified on more authentic and official information than my time would admit of procuring at present, I have thought it necessary to insert a

provisional clause specifying that it is to be continued in force only on condition that the Rani's right shall be fully ascertained and proved, and I have directed Mr. Fowke to enter into an investigation of the tenure and to report thereon to you. In the same manner the Raja has, on his part, executed a paper, which is deposited with Mr. Fowke, declaring that the sunnud is to be valid only on the condition above mentioned. This sunnud is in fact of no great consequence, for, whilst the province is left under the management of the Raja, these districts, as well as the rest of the country, must be in his possession, and as he has himself expressly acknowledged they will be equally answerable for the payment of his stipulated revenue.

The great advantage which the Province of Benares possesses over almost every other part of India arises from the supposed sanctity of its capital, which renders it the resort of the pious, the aged, and the wealthy Hindus from the most distant quarters, and occasions a constant influx of money.

These pilgrimages cannot be too much encouraged. When I was here in 1781 I abolished the duties formerly authorized upon them which being in a great measure arbitrary had afforded a pretext for extortion without yielding much immediate benefit to Government; and I established some other regulations to secure the pilgrims more effectually against every means of oppression. As these regulations have been carefully attended to under the inspection of Ally Ibrahim Cawn, their effects have fully answered my most sanguine wishes, and I have had the pleasure to find my pains fully requited in the grateful acknowledgments of all ranks of people.

The centrical situation of this province betwixt the different trading countries of India is also another circumstance which, if properly attended to, will greatly conduce to its prosperity. The Town of Mirzapoor was once considered as the common mart to which the merchants of the Deccan and of the Western Provinces resorted for the sale of their own commodities, and the purchase of the manufactures of Bengal and the productions of the northern countries of Nipal and Tibet. Their imports chiefly consisted of cotton, curwahs and other cheap and bulky commodities. Their exports were usually silks, spices, broad-cloth, and other articles, comprising a great value in a small space. And as the same cattle and carriage which brought their imports were also used in conveying their exports, the difference betwixt the value of the one and the other formed a balance of trade in favor of this country, which the merchants were necessarily obliged to supply by bringing along with them gold and silver. Nor were the benefits of this trade confined merely to the place where it was carried on. Bengal, which furnished the greatest part of the articles exported enjoyed its full share of the returns of wealth, and its manufacturers found in it ample employment for their industry. The late Bulwant Sing fully understood the importance of this trade, and it flourished under his protection. His successor, more attentive to the gratification of his dependents than the interests of his country, connived at oppressions which deterred the merchants from following their usual pursuits, and when I arrived here in 1781 I found that the trade of Mirzapoor was greatly decayed. The rates of duties which I myself had given a sanction in 1773 were originally too high, but they had been raised still higher by arbitrary constructions, and the merchants had been exposed to insufferable vexations from the multiplication of chowkeys or custom-houses separately collecting duties in every part of the province. To remedy these defects I formed some regulations in 1781, and if they had been strictly enforced I should scarcely have had occasion to resume the subject now; but the fact is they have been so little attended to by the executive officers of Government that they have almost become obsolete. I have therefore compiled them together, and have issued them anew with some additional provisions either occasioned by circumstances of a later date or formed to prevent the infringement of those which were before established. A copy of these regulations as they now stand is submitted to your perusal. They are short and simple, and I flatter myself they will meet with your approbation.

The only alteration of consequence which I have made is in the rate of duty to be exacted on silk piece goods manufactured in Bengal. From the

information of the most intelligent merchants it appeared to me that the exportation of these goods had considerably decreased of late, the former rate of 5 per cent. duty having so much enhanced the cost of them, that the merchants, who found themselves undersold by the manufactures of Bourhanpore and other places in the Deccan, were discouraged from dealing in them. Some time ago the Board, at the recommendation of the late Resident, reduced the rate of duties on rawsilk at Benares from 5 to 2½ per cent. I do not know how it happened that we omitted to make a similar reduction at the same time in the duties on silk piece goods, since, independent of other considerations, it is an incontrovertible principle of policy in every populous and commercial state, to encourage the exportation of its manufactured, even in a greater degree than of its raw or unwrought commodities. I have corrected this omission in the present regulations, and I think I may venture to affirm that it will be attended with no loss of revenue to the Rajah, as the increase of commerce and consequently of customs which it will occasion, must amply compensate for the reduction of the rate.

By some mistake either in the translating or transcribing the table of rates which accompanied my orders to the Resident of the 22nd of November 1781 the valuation of chower or cow-tails was set down at 12 rupees per seer though the real price of this article has seldom, ever exceeded 3 or 4 rupees.

It was represented to me that in consequence of this mistake the duties had been charged at so high a rate that the merchants of Nipal had been deterred from bringing this article for some years past to Benares, and as it is one of the principle commodities which their country affords, the commerce, with them, had been greatly affected. In the present regulations I have corrected this mistake, and have valued the white chowers at 4 rupees and the black at 3 rupees per seer.

To obviate effectually the apprehensions of the merchants of Mirzapoor, who from their sufferings have contracted a diffidence very unfavourable to the growth of commerce, I have in compliance with a petition which they have presented to me, directed the Resident to depute one of his Assistants to reside at that place for the purpose of receiving their complaints, which he is to transmit to the Resident or the officers of Government with a representation of the circumstances as far as they may come to his knowledge, but he is not to exercise of himself any act of coercive authority; and as the merchants have offered in their petition to support the expense of this appointment by a voluntary payment of 4 annas per hundred rupees on the value of the goods exported or imported by them at Mirzapoor, I have for the present authorized the receiving of this fee, but I have given particular directions to the Resident, in case it should ever occasion any complaints, to transmit immediate intimation to you and suspend the further collection of it until your pleasure shall be known.

Juggerdeo Sing, the late Manager, has delivered to me an account jumma wassil baky from the beginning of the Fuslee year 1191 until the time when he was removed from office. This account states his collections from zemindars, aumils, and farmers, of the land revenue at rupees of sorts 30,82,164-8-3 or Benares rupees 30,44,392-12-3 and from the customs at Benares rupees 2,81,906-11-9, and an account which I have received from Mr. Fowke states the subsequent collections of Baboo Agrail Sing, the new Naib, from the land revenue of rupees of sorts 3,24,996-15-9, and the huzoor collections at Rs. 85,129-10-0. The whole of these collections falling so far short of the revenue of the province, it was my intention to have caused a minute investigation of Juggerdee Sing's accounts to have been made under my own immediate inspection, but the necessity which has occurred for my sudden departure has obliged me to content myself with directing Mr. Fowke to refer them to the proper officers for examination. I have strongly enjoined Baboo Ajaib Sing to pay attention to the balances that are still due from the farmers, aumils, &c., on account of last year, and to take such measures as may be most effectual for recovering them.

The drought which has prevailed in so extraordinary a degree for some years past in the western parts of Hindustan has also been felt with great

severity in this Province. But though the fatal effects of it may be of some duration, it is with pleasure I can inform you that the cause itself is at an end. The present season has been extremely favourable, the lands have been cultivated with uncommon care and industry, and the whole face of the country promises a plentiful harvest.

I have the honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient humble servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 14th December 1784.

Tuesday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.

JOHN STABLES, ESQ.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 23rd ultimo.

The Governor-General's letter to the Board of the 1st October having been sent in circulation agreeably to their orders of the 11th ultimo, the following minutes were delivered by MR. MACPHERSON and MR. STABLES:—

MR. MACPHERSON'S minute.

I have perused with the utmost attention the Governor-General's letter of the 1st October last on the subject of the Vizier's subsidy, and sent in circulation.

I agree with the Governor-General that the Vizier's implicit reliance in the accuracy and justice of the accounts which our Accountant-General makes out against his Government, should encourage us to confirm the Vizier's confidence, by pointing out mistakes even although we must be losers by correcting them, yet the very distressed state of the Company's finances renders it necessary that we shall derive every aid which we can in justice from the Vizier's alliance.

I am not clearly informed whether the amount of the subsidy now charged for the brigade stationed at Cawnpoor, together with the subsidy paid for the regiment stationed at Lucknow, is superior to the actual charges of that brigade and regiment on the establishments of their present strength.

I wish the Accountant-General would make out an accurate calculation on those questions exclusive of the contingent or incidental charges of those troops on service which are, I believe, always charged to the Vizier.

Relative to the other consideration in the Governor-General's letter, whether the addition of another regiment to the brigade at Cawnpoor, together with the regiment at Lucknow, will render the force at Cawnpoor "an army fully adequate to the defence of the western frontier," it would, I think, be proper to take the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Enclosure Mr. MACPHERSON's minute.

	Sicca rupees.
Annual account of the Cawnpoor Brigade and Sir John Cummings' detachment (the regiment at Lucknow being deducted) . .	48,60,000
Annual account of the Cawnpoor Brigade and the Lucknow regiment included	34,20,000
Annual account of Sir John Cummings' detachment . . .	17,40,000

MR. STABLES' minute.

I have read with attention the Governor-General's letter sent in circulation. In the present distress I cannot assent to any reduction in the subsidy from the Nabob Vizier, besides when the expense of military stores, cattle, camp equipage, and other incidental expenses are considered for the brigade at Cawnpoor, I believe the subsidy is not more than the real expense to the Company.

In regard to the recall of Sir John Cummings' detachment, I request that the Commander-in-Chief may be called upon to give his opinion on the subject before any step is taken. I am the more anxious for this from the large armies that are said to be collected near Agra, and the general confusion that prevails among the Commanders.

JOHN STABLES.

The following minute was delivered by the Governor-General on his perusal of the two preceding, and orders have been sent to the Accountant-General to prepare and transmit, for the Board's information, an account shewing whether or not the amount of the subsidy now charged to the Nabob Vizier for the brigade stationed at Cawnpoor, and for the regiment at Lucknow, exceeds the actual charge of that brigade and regiment on the establishment of their present strength, and by how much, exclusive of such contingent and accidental expenses of those troops in service as are charged to His Excellency separately:—

30th November 1784.

Governor-General's minute, 30th November.

The Governor-General can have no objection to the reference proposed to be made to the Accountant-General to ascertain the difference which will remain in the expense to be charged to the Vizier for the troops at Cawnpoor and the regiment at Lucknow, by proportioning the demand of subsidy to the reduction of the strength of the sepoy corps, on the augmentation of which the charge of each had been raised, this being the scope of his proposal.

Respecting the repeal of the Governor-General's order for the recall of the detachment under the command of Colonel Sir John Cummings from Futtyghur, the Governor-General takes the liberty to remark that it is not before the Board, his order for the recall of that detachment being an act decidedly passed by him in conformity to his instructions and powers; and only revocable on proof that he has exceeded or misapplied those powers; but if the Board have such a design in contemplation, as appears by their minutes, he requests that it may be stated in terms, as also the reference which they may propose to make to the Commander-in-Chief, to whose judgment in every point of military knowledge he shall always pay, as it is due, the utmost deference, but cannot yield to him or to any other the credit of a more competent information of that state of our political affairs which requires that it be first ascertained as the ground for question relative to the station or operation of our troops.

Short as the interval is which remains for the dispatch of the *Surprize*, the Governor-General thinks this question of so much importance to the interests of the Company that he makes it his earnest request to the members of the Board that they will bring it to an early decision, before the close of the packet, for the information of the Court of Directors.

This minute from the Governor-General was succeeded by one from MR. MACPHERSON, which was replied to by the Govèrnor-General and copies of both are entered in this place.

MR. MACPHERSON'S minute.

There is certainly no motion before the Board for revoking the orders left by the Governor-General for withdrawing the detachment under the command of Sir John Cummings at Futtyghur. The Governor-General declares that the issuing of those orders was an act passed decidedly by him, in virtue of the powers which he had received from the Board. The responsibility of the act therefore rests so far with the Governor-General acting on his credentials.

I was not present at the Board when those credentials were granted, yet I am not the less disposed to respect their authority that the member who particularly supported them cannot now be present. I own a reluctance to recur to such discussions, and especially as the Governor-General's exercise of his commission in Oude is stated to the Company for their judgment on it in his own *letters* transmitted to the Board and through them to the Court of Directors.

In matters on which the members of the Board may entertain different sentiments, I could for my own part wish that in our present reduced members, every subject which did not demand a necessary and immediate decision were left in reference to the Company's opinion.

The question whether the addition of another regiment of sepoys to the Cawnpoor Brigade, together with the regiment at Lucknow, would from a sufficient force for the defence of the western frontiers arises form the Governor-General's letter of the 1st of October sent in circulation, and is certainly a proper field for the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief.

The Governor-General's agreement with His Excellency the Vizier to withdraw from his pay and dominions the detachment commanded by Sir John Cummings at Futtyghur was announced in his letter to the Board of the 20th September, which arrived when Mr. Wheler was ill at Garetty. There was no full Board to discuss the subject till lately. A similar agreement was made with the Vizier in 1781. The object of the Board's present consideration is, in my opinion, whether from the actual situation of the country powers on the frontier it would be *now expedient* to carry the order for withdrawing of those troops into execution. It is not a question whether the Governor was empowered to make such agreement with the Vizier. For, on the supposition that he saw the agreement a proper measure and had stipulated for it, I should be sorry (even if his powers did not authorize the execution of it, without the sanction of the Board) that we should propose to repeal the act by any formal act of ours. Indeed I should be sorry to repeal the formal act of any Agent much inferior to the first officer and member of Government.

I wish that the situation of affairs would admit of our fulfilling the agreement immediately. I have already observed that it is similar to that which took place in 1781, and which seemed to meet the approbation of the Court of Directors. But the present state of the times or of our finances may render the immediate execution of it inexpedient.

Whether it is so or not is a consideration which I wish to see discussed as a question, and the sooner it is discussed the better. I am ready to believe that one powerful army in the Vizier's country would be sufficient, and that if we could reduce any supernumerary or superfluous force that we may have at present in that country, and without creating a charge of any part of their expense upon the Company, the experiment might be tried. But official and professional lights, together with those we may receive of the state of the powers on the frontier, are necessary guides to our resolution on such important matters.

It has occurred to me that the *Fox* packet, by which we have been promised final orders relative to the affairs of Oude and this Government, may bring us those orders very speedily, and as her arrival may be nearly coincident with

the period assigned for the removal of Sir John Cummings' detachment, I take the liberty to suggest that this measure, and every question on the subject of it, may be suspended until then. In the mean time we may be carrying on the reduction of our military expenses within the provinces as expeditiously as possible and as fast as our treasury will permit us to discharge the arrears of the corps to be reduced.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

Governor-General's minute, dated 4th December 1784.

The other members of the Board cannot have such grounds of knowledge as I derive from long intercourse and almost local inspection in the State of Hindostan, and the strength and probable views of its different rulers. But I have no right to complain if they exercise that which they undoubtedly possess of judging for themselves. Yet let me observe that every information from every officer of the army, who either is or may hope eventually to be employed on that service, which I have declared to be an unnecessary incumbrance on the country, of which it is professedly the defence, and as unnecessary an expense to the Company, ought to be wholly rejected unless supported by undeniable evidence. Neither can I admit in this case the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. He is most certainly the competent judge of the sufficiency of any given force for any actual service to be performed, or for repelling any expected invasion provided the strength of the enemy be previously ascertained : but of the necessity or expediency of employing any force in the cases supposed, or of the existence of such cases, the Board itself is at least equally competent to judge, and alone to determine. I for my own part profess to require no such reference, but if the Board is of opinion that it be made I do not object, only declaring that my opinion cannot be bound by the result.

In the mean time, as I shall be ready at all times to accommodate my own opinion to those of the Board, which may be decidedly against them in cases which will admit of delay, modification, or alternative, with little regard to the injury which my own influence may sustain by the public disavowal, or repeal of acts done under my authority, merely as it may affect my own feelings, I am willing on this occasion to suspend the effect of my order by writing to Major Palmer to suppress it, or if he shall have already transmitted it, by writing in like manner to Colonel Cummings to suspend the execution of it, and will agree to leave the final confirmation or repeal of it to the future judgment of the Board.

The Board will find my grounds for the conviction of the little cause there is to apprehend any treachery from Mahadajee Sindia fully detailed in my report now prepared for their inspection of my proceedings with relation to the Prince Mirza Jehandar Shah. To these I will add another, which though of no recent impression escaped my attention at the instant. A solemn peace has been concluded between the Mahratta State and the Company cemented by a separate treaty with Mahadajee Sindia. If he violates these combined obligations he will not only forfeit the credit of his own faith, but commit an act of the most criminal offence against the general state of which he is a member, unless it be supposed that he acts on a plan concerted with the other members of it, or has been so instructed by them, which is against probability, since it is neither likely that such a design with so many privy to it could be secret, nor that the Chiefs of so many loose dependencies of a sovereign in his minority should so easily reconcile their discordant interests as to agree in such a confederacy, and so heartily unite in it as to conceal it from public knowledge. In effect it is generally understood to be a fact well ascertained that great misunderstandings have subsisted between them, and that all are jealous of Sindia both on account of his power and connections.

He is the ruling power in the countries which border on the dominions of the Nabob Vizier or on that quarter of our own. In effect there is no other power. He has committed no act which can be construed as hostile to our Government or leading to hostility, or indicating the intention of it, and his presence so near to the borders of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier is so far from being a just cause of suspicion, that it is the effect of my own solicitation to him, and is so far the effect of an act of this Government. There is therefore no cause for keeping up two armies in a season of established peace, and no enemy near to defend the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, who declares one alone to be sufficient, and that he cannot maintain more, nor has this Government any right to force the defence, with its maintenance upon him.

I forbear to state this argument on its extent, at which it would not be easy to reply to it, and I fear to aggravate where I profess a desire to conciliate.

If the other members of the Board see, or think they see, grounds for alarm, which I cannot see, and shall still resolve to retain the detachment in its present station, they have the power of deciding, and I must submit; but hope that they will not insist on loading the Nabob Vizier with the charge until the Court of Directors shall have been apprized of all the circumstances of the measure, and passed their decision upon it.

I feel the sense of an obligation imposed upon me, by the supposition which I have made, to state a mode for rendering the detachment of use in its prescribed station, and affording the appearance of a cause for its retention. I most reluctantly anticipate the occasion, to which I can never on any account give my consent, that the Court of Directors may receive the earliest notice both of the resolution of the Board on the original question, and of the purpose to which it is the intention of the Board to apply it. This will lead to a discussion for which I am unprepared, and had reserved for a period of leisure for the deliberate and wary examination of the subject, and for the disclosure of such events as might demand an immediate decision upon it.

I must repeat that the instant despatch of the *Surprize*, and the expectation of her speedy arrival in England, probably within the course of four months, induce me to make this premature exposition of a new political scene, which will merit the early attention of the Court of Directors, with every intermediate circumstance relating to it, which can eventually depend on the resolutions of the Board, that their orders thereon may be received at the commencement of the next fair season, or at least that such an option be afforded them to convey them within that period.

I have already said that there is now no power which can be properly so called in that part of Hindustan which borders on the dominions of the Company and their ally the Nabob Vizier. But this affirmation, though strictly true with relation to the question of present danger, must be taken solely in that restrictive application of it. A new source of serious contemplation has arisen from a nearer quarter, namely, that of the Sikhs, a people who from a mean sect of religious schismatics have rapidly grown into the members of a dominion extending from the most western branch of the Attock to the walls of Dehli. Its present state is too contemptible to be an object of apprehension to any force which could be opposed to it; but the King, who derives as much of his present weakness from their encroachments as from the usurpations of his own servants, which have excited them. They are by their bodily frame and habits of life eminently suited to the military profession; but this propensity is qualified by a spirit of independence which is a great check to its exertion. Every village has its separate and distinct ruler acknowledging no control but that of the people of his own immediate community, who in their town yield him little more than nominal submission. I remember when my enquiries led me to the knowledge of five independent sovereigns residing in the same city of Lahore. Though exposed from this cause to a continual state of internal warfare, they are all prompt at the call of common danger, at which they will without difficulty abandon their mutual contests to join in repelling it, returning when the danger is past with the same facility to their former contests. A constitution so framed may subsist unchanged for a length

of time, while it has no powerful neighbours to invade it, and while it remains confined within the limits of its native territory; but when it aims at permanent conquests, and carries the principles of its own construction into new establishments, it becomes liable to almost certain variation, from whatever rules they may adopt for the distribution of territory or appropriation of revenue, because both must introduce a new species of property and add to the individual power which becomes possessed of it. In such a change of polity should it so happen that one man of superior capacity and enterprize, aided by the spirit of religious enthusiasm, of which there are many examples in the modern history of India, and two even in the infancy of this nation, which I am describing, should acquire but a few degrees of power beyond his nearest competitors, it will be easy to trace in the primitive defects of such a government the gradual and easy means by which the whole might be enveloped within his own supremacy. Such will probably be the effect of the extinction of the present empire, which is rapidly approaching to it, and may give birth to a new dominion ascending from its ashes.

For some years past the Sikhs quitting their predatory incursions have fixed themselves in the lands which submitted to them, appointing collectors of their revenues, and officers for their Government. No opposition was made to them. The only instance in which it was attempted was in the year 1779, when the Minister Mudjed-ul-Dowlah marched from Dehli with an army of 30,000 men to attack them, and without the sight of an enemy purchased an ignominious retreat. They obtained quiet possession of the purgana of Sheaumlee, one of the King's personal domains lying within 30 coss of Dehli, while I was at Lucknow, and carried their depredations to the very suburbs of Dehli, where two of their officers actually reside in a quarter called Subzee Mundee, which is chiefly occupied by shroffs and shopkeepers, for the double purpose of levying their rauky* (which is the name given to that species of contribution) and of protecting the inhabitants from the marauders of their own nation.

We are too apt to despise the danger which we have not experienced, and to conclude that what has not happened in the ordinary course of events never will happen. On such a presumption my conclusions may expose me to the ridicule of those who may deem them the mere effusions of a wild imagination. I am willing to submit to this consequence if the events which I have foreboded shall be prevented by seasonable means of opposition; but I trust to time, and that not distant, for verifying my prediction if this people is permitted to grow into maturity without interruption.

I now proceed to shew the present means by which this interruption may be affected, and another point of some consequence attained with it.

I have mentioned in my report of the 1st instant that it was one part of the Prince's plan to offer his services to the King to be employed against the Sikhs. The battalions which the Nabob Vizier has allowed for his escort cannot attend him beyond the Nabob's own frontier. If he carries them further he must provide their pay and subsistence, as their place must of course in that case be supplied by other levies, for which there is no other provision than that which is allotted to his actual establishment. This condition is in effect an insuperable bar to their employment, nor would it be prudent to trust his fortune on the first trial of it to the rabble of his father's army, unpaid and accustomed to disregard command. If the station at Futtyghur must be continued the detachment cannot be better employed either in whole or part than on service with the Prince. It will more effectually keep the Sikhs at a distance, by advancing with such an influence to attack them, than by waiting within its own sphere of defence to repel them. I must here inform the Board that the Prince repeatedly and earnestly solicited me to endeavour to obtain their authority, for he knew the extent of my own, for such an employment of the detachment. I discouraged the expectation but promised to communicate his requisition.

I will confess that the apprehension of his return upon our protection, the desire of executing the arduous task which the Board were pleased to assign me,

* Rauky, properly Rakhi—Tribute paid for protection; a kind of blackmail; also a protector.—*Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms.*

and a yet stronger impulse arising from the hope of blasting the growth of a generation whose strength might become fatal to our own, strongly pleaded in my mind for supporting his wishes. But to these I opposed the more urgent consideration of the Company's distresses, and their solemn call upon us to relieve them; and I had resolved to report to the Board the Prince's request, but at the same time to state my objections to it, which in my judgment outweighed the advantages that might arise from a compliance with it.

I choose in this place to observe that the actual expense of the detachment is 1,88,705 current rupees per month, or 22,64,466 per annum, of which 81,030 current rupees per month or 9,72,360 per annum, are the extra expenses of the staff, field batta, and contingencies which belong to it as a detached corps, and which would cease with its reduction, besides that it would facilitate the reduction of the strength of the army.

But if the expense is to be continued it may surely be better continued for some useful purpose than to keep up the parade of a great military corps designed merely to lie inactive in its quarters.

On this ground therefore, and on the supposition premised, I revert to my original sentiments in favour of the Prince's plan, but as this will require some qualification in the execution of it, I will state my recommendation of it in the terms of a proposition, *viz.*, that if it shall be the resolution of the Board to continue the detachment now under the command of Colonel Sir John Cummings at Furruckabad, and if the Prince Mirza Jehandar Shah shall apply with the authority of the King and the concurrence of Mahadajee Sindia for the assistance of an English military force to act in conjunction with him to expel the Sikhs from the territories of which they have lately possessed themselves in the neighbourhood of Dehli, it may be granted, and such a portion of the said detachment allotted to that service as shall be hereafter judged adequate to it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The following minute was afterwards delivered by MR. MACPHERSON:—

MR. MACPHERSON'S minute.

I have read the Governor-General's minute of the 4th of December, and have considered its propositions with the utmost attention. It opens a prospect and view of affairs well worthy the consideration of the Company, and should be recommended to their particular attention.

That the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief should be taken, and have the weight which the Members of the Board may affix to it in considering the political state of affairs on our frontiers, seems generally admitted. There may not be time to send it by this dispatch to the Company.

I beg leave to adhere to my former proposition of leaving the question relative to the recall of the detachment under Sir John Cummings suspended till the arrival of the *Fox* packet, and by that time our treasury and that of the Vizier may be in a situation to disband the detachment if it is resolved to reduce it; and we may be better informed relative to Sindia's real views and situation.

Should the Sikhs invade the Vizier's countries we must repel them, and the Shahzada with Sindia's support might be of use on the occasion, but until such invasion I am for my part averse to commence any hostilities against them though I believe they may become in time a formidable power.

I shall readily agree to any mode the Governor-General may wish to adopt in his explanation to the Vizier, that the delay in recalling the detachment is not a repeal of his agreement with him for that purpose, but a delay occasioned by the new turn affairs have taken on our frontiers, and till we receive advices from Europe that are expected.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

I agree to the opinion delivered by Mr. MacPherson.

JOHN STABLES.

The 1st December 1784.

Copies of all the foregoing minutes were in conformity to the directions of the Members of the Board transmitted to the Hon'ble Court of Directors. Numbers in the packet by the *Surprize*, which was closed and despatched from the Secret Department on the 12th instant.

The Governor-General having delivered in the following report of his proceedings in relation to the Prince Mirza Jewan Buckht Jehandar Shah, a copy of it was annexed to the general letter per *Surprize*:—

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The Governor-General requests the Board to accept the following abridged report of his proceedings in relation to the Prince Mirza Jewan Buckht Jehandar Shah, and that it may be inserted in substance in the letter to the Hon'ble Court of Directors now under despatch, the time not allowing him to enter into a more explicit detail. This will be sufficient for their information, the subject itself having no relation to their present interests, whatever tendency it may have to affect them by the measures to which they may lead hereafter.

The Prince's early and immediate application to the Nabob Vizier and myself, and the letters of the King and his Ministers, having in a manner constituted us the mediators between them, we entered with difficulty on the office thus assigned us, but with little effect. The sentiments of the King, inconstant in his purposes and accustomed to the rule of others, could not be known. His confidential Minister Mudjee-ul-Dowlah was disgraced and imprisoned, and Afrasiab Cawn, though apparently dreading to offend our Government, yet showed no disposition to accede to any terms, the authority of the King serving as an easy cover to his own pretentions or objections. The subsequent violence done to the King in dragging him at the most inclement season of the year to Agra, the policy of which has been never well explained, contributed by a coincidence of other circumstances to disclose the impotency of the Minister's usurpation and the imbecility of his character. It also brought him nearer to our observation and corroborated the evidences of his declining influence. Seeing no prospect of advantage in continuing to treat with him, and conceiving myself precluded by the restrictions laid on me by the Board in their injunctions of the 8th June, by which I was earnestly exhorted to effect the Prince's return to his father's court with safety and honor, but not to commit the Company either in their treasure or arms, which effectually precluded me not only from the direct use of either but from the base influence which the latter might have given me as an instrument of negociation, I chose to avail myself of the professions which had been repeatedly made to me by Mahadajee Sindia to put them to the test by committing the charge of the Prince's interests to him. He readily accepted it, and made me the most solemn promises of exerting his personal influence and power to the utmost extent of both for the accomplishment of all the Prince's requisitions. These were in sum to be allowed to return to his father's court with such an attendance as should be sufficient for his protection, and a connected jaghir, equal to the amount of a grant made to him by His Majesty during the administration of Mirza Nudjiff Cawn, to be employed on service against the Sikhs; and that to preclude the appearance of a distinction which the King's known affection to his youngest son, Mirza Akbar Shah, might raise some objection, he also might be employed in a similar service in another quarter. It is due in truth and justice to the Prince to observe in this place that his attention

to the propriety of character urged him constantly to remind me, whenever he spoke of the conditions which he required for his return, that he exacted them not from the King to whom he owed an implicit submission which he was ready to yield even with the sacrifice of life if His Majesty required it, but from those who held the King himself in constrain, and to whom, however ostensibly acting under the royal authority, he owned no such allegiance as to trust his life and honor to their mercy.

Mahadajee Sindia joined to his assurances a declaration that he would go in person to Agra to carry them into effect. I for that reason directed Mr. James Anderson, who had come to me with Bhow Bucksy, his confidential Minister, to return to him, and instructed Major Browne to suspend the negotiation with Afrasiab Cawn, and to leave the whole business to Sindia's management. He prepared to set out on this commission, and did actually send a considerable part of his army before him to gain the time which was requisite for passing the River Chambal, which lay in his route. After much procrastination, which is the characteristic attendant of the Mahratta policy, he himself began his march, but had scarce made three stages of it when an unfortunate combination of untoward events obstructed his progress. The rains began to fall in such abundance and continuation as obliged him to halt. The Rana of Gwalior escaped from the slight restraint which was placed on him, and it was suspected that he would throw himself on the protection of Mahomed Beg Humdannee, with whom Sindia was at variance. The superstition of his Brahmins drew also some unpropitious omens from the death of two of his elephants, and he was advised on that account to return to his former station, and recommence his march under a more favourable influence. But I believe the obstacle which weighed most with himself was his apprehension for his wife, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, and whom he feared to leave behind him, having lost a former wife whom he left on a similar occasion, and in the like situation by the neglect of her attendants. And his interest and his permanency of his authority greatly depending on his having an heir to inherit them, he returned accordingly to his encampment at Gwalior, giving out that he would prosecute his first purpose immediately after the Dusserra; but it was believed and privately affirmed by persons in his confidence to Mr. James Anderson that he would drop it altogether. On this intelligence I directed Major Browne to renew his negotiation with Afrasiab Cawn on some amended propositions of the Prince, giving him at the same time a caution to avoid committing either the Nabob or myself in any other engagement than that of attesting and guaranteeing those which might be concluded between the Prince and Afrasiab Cawn. In the mean time Sindia's hopes of a son were defeated by the birth of a daughter, and the other impediments no longer operating he resumed his march, not without a friendly expression of regard at the repeal of my instructions. The confirmation of them, however, soon followed, and he repeated with great cheerfulness and unsolicited asserverations the assurances which he had formerly made me. While he was on his way Afrasiab Cawn, by the instigation of Himmut Behauder, a man of noted intrigue, quarrelled with Mahomed Beg Humdannee, a Mogul Chief in the nominal service of the King, who had established a kind of independent sovereignty in the neighbourhood of Jeypoor, and sent a detachment of his army to attempt the possession of a part of his jaghir. It was opposed by Humdannee, and a battle expected to ensue between them. This was the state of affairs when I left Benares.

When I saw no near prospect of an accommodation of the Prince's views at Dehli, nor any utility in my continuance at Benares for the purpose of promoting it, I informed him of the necessity of my speedy return, and as he was desirous of trying the effect of a nearer scene of negotiation, I seconded his application to the Nabob Vizier for an escort of five battalions of his sepoys to attend the Prince to Furruckabad. His plan was to remain in the neighbourhood of the detachment under Colonel Sir John Cummings in that quarter, and from thence to treat with Afrasiab Cawn, and receive the commands of the King, the distance being not more than 100 miles. The 29th of the month was fixed for his departure from Benares, and it was my intention to have left it on the next day to return to the Presidency. The news of Mr. Wheler's death

quickened my departure, and I took my leave of the Prince on the 21st. I set off on the next morning leaving my body-guard under the command of Lieutenant Philip to attend him. By this show of support, and the studied observance of every form of external respect which is by custom due to a Prince of the blood, and more especially to the declared heir of the throne, I have endeavoured to raise his influence as the best means in my power of promoting his views. The Nabob Vizier, too, has been pleased with my advice to allow him a monthly subsidy of 33,333 rupees or 4 lacks per annum—a sum which he can ill afford, but which is probably less than the accumulated expense to which in one way or other he would have been subjected had the Prince been obliged by the necessity of subsistence to remain at his capital, where also he must either have lived in a degraded state to the public discredit of the Nabob Vizier, or with allowed rights of superiority which would have proved hurtful to his own, and would not have failed to breed a mutual disgust. This last consequence would have thrown him by force on our protection, with the same alternative of an allowance for his maintenance, or the refusal of it. However this Government may contend for the strict observance of economy in defiance of every consideration but that of strict legal or political right, if a political right can be bounded by any known principles, yet there are situations in which it will be compelled to adopt those maxims by which as a State it ought to consult its own dignity and the public opinion. Fallen as the House of Timur is, it is yet the relic of the most illustrious line of the Eastern World; its sovereignty is unniversally acknowledged, though the substance of it no longer exists; and the Company itself derives its constitutional dominions from its ostensible bounty. The same treatment could not be shown to the representative of so illustrious a throne as to a common and unprivileged adventurer. To these considerations may I be allowed to join the difference between a present solicitor, armed with such pretensions, to which he had given an augmented strength by the manner in which he had flown, with the sacrifice of his domestic ease, and the imminent hazard of life, not to assert, but to submit them to the generosity for which he gave a credit to the national character, and a distant correspondent suing for protection from the repose of a seraglio? The gentlemen to whom I immediately address myself will not, I hope, construe what I shall add as the address of compliment. They would have felt the same warmth of benevolence, or let it be, if it is such, the same weakness of compassion, that I did when I first met the Prince on the plain of Mohaun, without state, without attendance, with scarce a tent for his covering or a change of raiment, but that with which the recent effect of hospitality had furnished him, and with the expression of a mind evidently struggling between the pride of inherent dignity and the conscious sense of present indignance and dependence. Had his subsequent conduct developed a character unworthy of his high birth, had he appeared vain, haughty, mean, insolent, or debased by the vices which almost invariably grow on the minds of men born to great pretensions, unpracticed in the difficulties of common life, and not only bred, but by the necessity of political caution familiarized to the habits of sloth and dissipation, I would have contented myself with bestowing on him the mere compliment of external respect, and consulting only the propriety of my own conduct, not yielded to the impulse of a more generous sentiment. I saw him almost daily in the course of near six months, in which we were either participators of the same dues of hospitality, or he of mine; and I found him gentle, lively, possessed of a high sense of honor, of a sound judgment, an uncommonly quick penetration, and a well-cultivated understanding, with a spirit of resignation and an equality of temper almost exceeding any within the reach of my own knowledge or recollection. These qualities have their alloy in the weaknesses which are allied to the milder virtues. His declarations of attachment to his father may be assumed, but have been hitherto consistent; his courage has been on more than one occasion put to the test and stood it. His letters, some of which I have had the honour to send to the Board, were mostly, if not all, written by himself, and bear the decided marks, both of good sense and education. He is well acquainted with the actual state of our Government, and of its inability to afford any substantial relief to his father's distresses, who is, I fear, little capable of profiting by any which may be yielded to him, but he has declared that whatever may be his fate he shall retain to the latest

period of his life a grateful remembrance of the kindness with which he has been treated by the British nation, and which he never fails, when he speaks of it, to contrast with that of his own country and even domestics.

It was not entirely with my advice that he has undertaken his present plan. I thought that it would have been more advisable to wait a more favorable turn of affairs at Benares, where his influence would have gained strength by the confirmation of his connexion with our Government, and he would have been assured every respectful attention, both from the effect of my own injunctions, and the characters of the present Resident and Magistrate of Benares; besides that his own option and a more suitable state both of the ability and policy of our Government might hereafter determine his return to assert his father's rights and his own with a certainty of success which in the present undertaking was at best but doubtful.

He was by the last advices at Lucknow, where he arrived on the 19th ultimo, and was much pleased with the Nabob Vizier's attentions. He had received letters from his father written without the knowledge of Afrasiab Cawn, earnestly exhorting him to return to court, and expressed in terms of the strongest paternal affection. He seemed not very anxious to proceed. The reason for this change of sentiment will appear in the following recital of the events which have passed at Agra subsequent to the date of these letters.

I have, I believe, before stated the power of Afrasiab Cawn as in its wane and hastening to its end. On the 2nd ultimo he was, as the Board are already informed, assassinated by a soldier of his army in his own tent, instigated, as it is suspected, by a Zein-ul-Abdeen Cawn, the brother of Mirza Shuffee, who perished in like manner by the agency of Afrasiab Cawn, on whom this retribution has fallen with the strictest justice. The assassin was destroyed on the instant, and Zein-ul-Abdeen fled for refuge to Mahadaji Sindia who has caused him to be imprisoned, but his destiny is yet unknown. Mahadaji Sindia immediately espousing the party of the deceased Chief, and assuming the command of the Mogul army opposed to Mahomed Beg Humdannee, soon reduced that leader to terms of submission. Humdannee was obliged to surrender Sindia all his artillery and stores, with his own person. His troops were dispersed and Sindia thus became the uncontested ruler of the royal army. What use he will make of this accession of power I cannot conjecture. He will undoubtedly apply it to his own interests, though his political consequence more than his interests is likely to be gratified by the administration of a nominal empire and a wasted dominion.

Yet he continues his professions of making the Prince's settlement and the King's restoration his first care. I cannot indeed satisfactorily discover the means by which he can either give permanency to the King's authority, or provide such an establishment for the Prince as he requires for his own safety, and his desire of rendering effectual service to this father. But it is a case of necessity in which I myself, so far as I have been concerned in it, had no alternative, in which if nothing is gained nothing can be lost, and therefore, such as is best left to the operation of chance.

For the Prince's other expectations in the possible and variable events of his present design I will take a future and early occasion to address the Board.

As to the probable conduct of Mahadaji Sindia no judgment can be formed but from the experience of his former actions, his general character, and apparent interests. These are more likely to incline him to a strict maintenance of his integrity to our Government, and even to court its attachment by sacrifices than to risk the forfeiture of it by any instance of hostility or duplicity. His connection with the British nation has exposed him to the jealousy of the rival Chiefs of his own, whom his superiority of power, aided by that accession, may keep in awe of him. He has also the national pride to consult in maintaining the right of regulating, as they affect to term it, the affairs of Hindostan, in which he may apprehend some counteraction from us if he should apply the advantages which he has attained to purposes that may be offensive to our Government or eventually endanger its interests. The actions of men, whether in public or private life, are not invariably swayed by a consistency of

principle or adherence to their real interests, but are liable to variations from the temptations of new disclosures of ambition, from influence, and even from caprice. But the judgment in its search of futurity must yield to the greatest weight of evidence which it actually possesses; and on this ground I feel little apprehension from the designs of Mahadaji Sindia, and securely rely on his possessions. Indeed I have never known any good to proceed from that timid policy which gives trust and withholds confidence.

If the Prince should either fail in his present views, or relinquish them without any attempt, he will probably return to Benares, where I must vehemently hope the Board will continue to allow him an asylum. He will expend his income among the ryots of the Company. His influence will prove of little injury to the police of Benares, to which he himself has shewn very cautious attention, and a particular consideration for its Magistrate, and the time may come when his activity, spirit, and gratitude, if they do not forsake him, may enable him to make ample returns to the Company for the past kindnesses bestowed on him in the days of his adversity.

I have directed Captain Scott, my Persian Secretary, to compile and arrange all the letters and other papers which have a relation to my transactions with the Prince, and to the events which have arisen out of them, and when they are prepared I will lay them before the Board in separate volumes. They may be useful for future reference but claim no place in our present records which they would swell with a bulk very disproportionate to their real importance.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 54 F, D.—28-5-89.—500

Proceedings of the Secret Select Committee from 13th to 28th January 1785.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 13th January 1785.

Thursday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, *Governor-General, President.*

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.

JOHN STABLES, Esq.

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 4th instant.

The following minute having been written some time since and communicated privately to the Members of the Board, the Governor-General desires that it may be entered on the minutes of the 4th instant, as well as on these, that being the day on which it underwent their inspection.

Agreed to and ordered that the Secretary do enter the same accordingly.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—The period is now arrived in which I must either verify the declaration which I have made and repeated to the Court of Directors of my intention to relinquish the service, or suspend the execution of it, if compelled to it on the grounds of superior obligation. These I shall now state, and submit my destiny to the justice and generosity of my colleagues in the Administration. In making this appeal I should be sorry to have it ascribed to any distrust in the issue, having evinced the contrary, by making the declaration to which I have above alluded without any such reserve or qualification, that I do it in performance of a solemn engagement and with a conviction that the security of a valuable portion of the Company's immediate and pecuniary interests indispensably require it.

The Board will permit me to remind them that on the 31st December 1783 they passed an unanimous resolution agreeing and declaring that the "offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his Minister to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of that year, should be accepted with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-General consenting to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measures, and that in consequence of the Board's having agreed that "the Governor-General should proceed to Lucknow for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and the Regulation of his Government;" they on the 17th February last resolved that the Governor-General should be, and he was thereby invested with full power and authority to concert and adjust with the Nabob Vizier the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, of restoring and securing the peace, safety, and order of his Government, and of promoting the improvement of his revenue, and to support the Nabob Vizier with the authority of this Government in as full and ample manner as the Board could empower him by any Act of Parliament of Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and to take all such measures as he should think necessary for the accomplishments of these ends.

I undertook the service at a time, and under circumstances which to a mind liable to despond would have suggested insurmountable difficulties. These I have minutely stated in my correspondence with the Board, and my late report of the 20th September states in what manner I have executed the trust which I had undertaken.

The engagements which I have obtained from the Nabob Vizier cease with the close of the next Fuslee year, or in September next, but his means of

fulfilling them depend upon the unchanged and unmolested subsistence of many internal arrangements which are mutually connected in a series of five years from their formation, and that on the absolute forbearance of this Government from all present interference in his authority, and especially in the control and administration of his revenues.

When I was on the eve of parting from him I deemed it consistent with the sincerity of my own character, and necessary to prevent the consequences of too abrupt an information whenever he might receive it, of the apparent deprivation of my support, to acquaint him with the probable approach of my removal from the service; and at the same time I promised him that I would on no account make it my own act without previously obtaining from the Board their promise of an entire and punctual adherence of the engagements which I had made with him on my own part individually, and on the behalf of the Board, in virtue of their existing engagements with me which are contained in the resolution to which I have appealed in the introduction of this minute: the same assurance I gave also to his Minister. I soon after departed, leaving my Secretary, Major Palmer, as my personal representative and Agent with the Nabob Vizier, both for the encouragement of the Nabob and his Ministers, and for the means of urging them to the faithful discharge of their stipulated payments, and Mr. Wombwell, the proper officer in charge of the receipts.

In conformity to the above engagements, I now make it my earnest request to the Board that they will be pleased to record their resolution to abide by the arrangements which I have made, and to notify the same, for the satisfaction and assurance of the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers by an official letter to the Nabob Vizier from my eventual successor, with a promise that no deviation shall be made from the said arrangements nor any person deputed to reside at his Court, but at his own spontaneous inclination, or any authority exercised within the limits of his dominion by the appointment or permission of the Board, except such as shall be required by the Nabob himself from the military officers stationed for his defence and the protection of his country, until the conclusion of the present Fuslee years, or until the order of the Court of Directors shall be received in consequence of the references which have been made to them, if such orders shall either enjoin or authorize a different conduct.

I presume that this requisition is consonant with the strictness of legal propriety as the first delegation of the trust made to me in December last extends in its full force as a reciprocal obligation to the period which I have prescribed; and as the act of a majority of the Board which followed it from its legal obligation on the whole necessarily includes and involves every engagement contracted under it, and conformable to it with the same force of an equal and permanent obligation.

Therefore, before I conclude I desire to obviate every possible misconception of my object in the requisition which I have made. I do not desire the Board, nor the members of it individually, to approve what I have done. I only desire them to ratify what I have done under a constitutional and legal authority, by their constitutional and legal acquiescence and confirmation of it, knowing that without it the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers, who are ignorant of the powers of the Board and the principles which give stability to its decided acts, will conclude that all the engagements contracted with them by the only ostensible member of our Government, with whom by the forms of it they are connected, will be dissolved on his removal from it. I make the proposal with an anxiety natural to the importance of its issue in the hope that it will mark the last act of my public life, and the last test which I shall exact from the Board of that spirit and mutual conciliation which no difference of opinion has yet been able wholly to extinguish, and which it is my most earnest wish to preserve, whether we are to be still longer united in the same service, or whether we are to part in our public capacities for ever.

The following minute is delivered by Mr. MacPherson and Mr. Stables.

We have considered the very important and solemn proposition which the Governor-General has made to the Board. The very earnest manner in which

he has called upon us as his colleagues in the Administration, and the great anxiety which he has expressed for the issue of our determination, oblige us to confine our sentiments on the present occasion to a clear and explicit answer to the question which he has been pleased to propose.

The question itself as a proposition for our adoption is stated in full and clear terms, nor need we repeat the words. It is a proposition founded upon specific acts of this Government which has already taken place, and as members of the Government we have already committed our sanction in its favour by those legal obligations which bind every member of the Administration to the acts of a decided majority, and that constitutional acquiescence in the arrangements concluded between the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier and his Ministers, and to which our ratification is required on the liberal principle which the Governor-General has specified.

We are sensible of the just and public grounds upon which it is proper and necessary that the Nabob Vizier should be assured that arrangements concluded with him for the discharge of his debt to the Company, and the future regulation and increase of his revenues should remain permanent and binding upon the Company's representatives independent of the continuance in office of the Governor-General for the time, who had the delegated powers of the Government to conclude those arrangements. We are therefore willing and ready to adopt the mode which the Governor-General has proposed for relieving the mind of the Vizier, as well as his Ministers, from all apprehension or uneasiness upon this subject.

We are confident at the same time that the Governor-General will, of his own accord, use his utmost influence to convince the Vizier and his Ministers of the necessity of a punctual performance of their engagements, so as to preclude this Government from all interference in the control and administration of His Excellency's revenues. Having acceded, in so explicit a manner, to the Governor-General's proposal, and having pledged our support of arrangements for the successful issue of which it is natural for the Governor-General to carry an anxiety beyond the period he may wish to prescribe to his own Administration in this country, we further beg leave to assure him that whether we are to be longer united with him in the public service, or are soon to separate, it is our earnest wish to preserve unextinguished and improve that spirit of conciliation which is equally dictated by our sense of public duty, and our personal respect for the Governor-General.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

JOHN STABLES.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—I beg leave to prepare the following proposition by stating it as personal, and to apologize to the Board for taking up a portion of their time, however small, with a matter of such a nature. Since my first appointment to the chief office of this Government in 1772, Major Toone has constantly held some command immediately attached to my person except the interval which passed of his absence in England. The troops of horse appointed for my body guard in 1773 was raised, formed, and disciplined by him, but did not immediately perform the duty assigned to it by its institution, being first employed on service against the Senneasses, who then infested the provinces in vast multitudes, committing the most alarming depredations, and immediately after in the campaign against the Rohillas under Colonel Champion. In both services it was eminently useful, in the first especially, by the rapidity of its motions and some signal successes so intimidating that order of banditti, that they were entirely driven from the provinces, and have never since dared to return, in effect it may be considered as the safeguard of the people from that time, although its actual operations have been remitted, because their first impression rendered the repetition of them unnecessary.

In the interval which followed of his resignation of the service, Major Toone was employed on an important trust by the Hon'ble Court of Directors, of the nature of which and of his merits in the discharge of it a member of this Board is possibly a more competent judge than I can be. That the following extract of the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors will warrant the conclusion that his time was neither dissipated in idleness, nor devoted to the concerns of his own private interest:—

Extract of the General Letter dated 30th April 1782.

"We have permitted Captain Sweeny Toone, who came home for the benefit of his health, to return to your Presidency without prejudice to his rank. We consider him particularly entitled to this mark of our attention, as well on account of his general good character, as for services rendered to the Company, under our orders, since he has been in Europe."

Since his return he has been employed in a command of credit, and of a trust which I should not have confided to mere personal predilection, as my own honour was materially interested in the proper discharge of it. He had the command of the escort which attended me in my late deputation, and to his honour I mention that though the detachment traversed, either wholly or in part, a line of 800 miles, though it was frequently intermixed both on line of march and encampment with troops of the Nabob Vizier, though it was quartered during five months at Lucknow, and a portion of it did duty during three months within the walls of the Vizier's palace, no complaint was ever uttered of any disorders committed by the individuals of it, and they mixed with the people of the city and the domestics of the Nabob Vizier with a degree of harmony which was never in a single instance interrupted. This is an event of which I believe there is no other example, and to this I can add another circumstance, which is perhaps unequalled, that it has not cost the Company the charge of one contingent bill.

Major Toone's wish is to accompany me on my return to England. His reasons for this intention will be signified in his address to the Board, when he shall request their acceptance of his resignation. I request, as the conclusion of the facts which I have premised, that the Board will be pleased to yield so far to my sense of Major Toone's services and merits as to reward them by granting him a commission of Lieutenant-colonel. Its immediate effect will be but of a few days' duration, as his resignation of the service must shortly follow, so that it can encroach on no individual rights, and I trust to the respect which my attention to the rules of the service will draw from the officers in general that no one will complain of so short and ineffectual a supersession, nor will it be a burthen to the Company's finances either by its present effect or by its affording a precedent for similar indulgences, since rarely will the same claim occur with a combination of the same pleas under which it is made. I request it as an indulgence to myself, in consideration of my own opinion of its weight as a public act, not doubting of the acquiescence of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, with whom I am willing to take upon myself, if required, the whole responsibility, at least so far as the Board can divest themselves of their portion of it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. MacPherson—I agree to the Governor-General's recommendation to promote Major Toone, who is returning with him to England, to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel, that special rank being in no shape to entitle him to supersede any person on this establishment either prior to his departure for Europe or after his return to Bengal, but to be granted to him in compliment to the Governor-General as an honorary mark of Major Toone's services. I beg leave to add, from my own knowledge of Major Toone, that I have a particular pleasure in agreeing to the Governor-General's recommendation, and the services which the Court of Directors, in their letter of 30th April 1782, have represented

Major Toone to have rendered the Company in England, will certainly induce them to approve of the measure.

J. MACPHERSON.

MR. STABLES—I agree with pleasure to grant the commission to Major Toone in the terms of Mr. MacPherson's minute.

J. STABLES.

Secret Dept., Fort William, the 28th January 1785.

Friday. AT A COUNCIL, PRESENT:

THE HON'BLE JOHN MACPHERSON.

J. STABLES, Esq.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *absent.*

Read and approved the Proceedings of the 20th instant.

The Governor-General sends in the following minute, 28th January 1785:—

Minute from the Governor-General.

Monoha Dass, the son of Gopal Dass, having waited upon me with a request that he might be furnished with an order on the Lucknow Treasury for the amount which may be due upon the bond granted by the late Resident on the part of the Company, dated the 8th June 1783, which, according to the tenor of that engagement, was to be repaid from whatever might remain after providing for the Company's necessary disbursements from the receipts of the assignments granted on the country in their favour by His Highness the Nabob Vizier, but which the urgent occasions of this Government, for remittances to Surat and Calcutta, have prevented the performance of this article of the Company's engagement with them, I am to request that the Board will be pleased to direct the accountant at Lucknow, in place of remitting in Jeyt the ten lakhs which are then to be paid by the Nabob Vizier in bills on Surat and Calcutta, to pay the same to the agents of Gopal Dass, taking their receipts as an endorsation on the back of Mr. Bristow's bond, and that in the month of Bhaden, in place of remitting the whole amount of the 15 lakhs which the Nabob Vizier is then to pay in bills on Surat and Calcutta, he do discharge the amount which may then be due of the principal and interest of that bond, the latter of which he will of course charge to the Nabob's account, it being allowed for in the last article of the estimate of the Company's demand against the Vizier for the present Fuslee year 1191.

WARREN HASTINGS.

The Board agree to the Governor-General's request and direct the Secretary to send the necessary orders to Mr. Wombwell in consequence.

Government of India Central Printing Office.—No. 55 F. D.—18-4-89.—500.

APPENDIX.

Extract of Mr. Hastings' letter to the Board, dated the 27th September 1762.

"The enquiry concerning the intercepted letters having been chiefly made by me, and "depending on nicer and more intricate circumstances than the former, I beg leave to lay before "your Honor, &c., a recapitulation of the most material evidences which have been given "upon it.

"From the examinations taken the last year it has been proved that the packet from "Comgar Cawn to Rajaram, which included Ramchurn's letters, was carried from Calcutta; "that the contents and superscriptions of the letter were wrote in two different hands, and "that the letters were forged; by whom, remained yet undiscovered, though it could be no "doubt (from the circumstances already proved) that it was the contrivance of some person "of Calcutta, and who had an interest in Ramchurn's disgrace; and this was the only clue "that could lead to the discovery of the author.

"That there had been a long and open variance between Nundcoomar and Ramchurn "is well known. The former was, in consequence of that difference, suspected of being "concerned in the forgery of the letters; with what reason, will appear from the depositions "now before the Board.

(*a*) *Vide* Cons. of 31st July.
(*b*) *Vide* Cons. of 11th August.
(*c*) B. No. 9.

"From the evidences of Nubkishen, (*a*) Ramchurn Dass, (*b*) and Selim Oolla (*c*) it appears "that there were designs projecting by Nundcoomar against Ramchurn a short time before the "interception of the above packet. The mysterious declaration of Sudder-o-din to Selim "Oolla, mentioned in the latter's deposition, affords a strong proof of this, and of Sudder-o-"din being an accomplice in it. The industrious concealment of Ramnauth Chowdry, who "is said to be privy to the whole transaction, though it amounts to no proof, cannot but "create a suspicion that it proceeds from a consciousness of some guilt, which his presence "might bring to light.

(*d*) *Vide* Cons. of 11th August. N. B. No. 11.
(*e*) B. No. 10.

"That Sudder-o-din was acquainted with the contrivance of the letters is implied in "the promise which he made to Assud Oolla, (*d*) and Fukker-o-din to declare all that he knew "relating to those letters, and that he would return in five days from Gyrettee for that purpose. "This Sudder-o-din positively denies, though confirmed by the evidence of Moulvie "Inoodun, (*e*) who has sworn to the express words which he heard, but understood not to "what subject they related.

(*f*) *Vide* President's letter in Cons. of 31st July.

"The letter (*f*) wrote by Sudder-o-din to Assud Oolla is very ambiguous. I have "consulted several able Moonshees upon it, and find it will well bear the meaning which he "gives it, though it may also admit of a different construction. The letter in his sense of it "is as follows:—

"My present situation how shall I relate? It is beyond expression, and as I look upon 'you as my friend in all respects, what occasion is there to write it? I am persuaded 'you will do whatever you think best for me. To work at the unfolding of the affair known 'between us would be the act of a base man, afterwards what confidence could you have 'in me? When I have bound myself to the rights of a master I will not be deficient in 'complying with your desire."

"Two difficulties occur in reconciling Sudder-o-din's interpretation of the 'affair known 'between them' to the probable views and interests of the two Moonshees.

"*First.*—Fukker-o-din having wrote the superscriptions of the letters to Comgar Cawn, 'was charged with having written the letters also, and was several days in confinement upon 'that account. This made him solicitous to find out the real author, and Assud Oolla 'regarding it as a common concern equally interested himself in it. Accordingly, we find "that they meet with Sudder-o-din (who was supposed to have written the letters) and have a

(*g*) *Vide* Cons. of 11th August.

"long conversation with him; but strangely forgetting (as he (*g*) declares) the point which they "had so intently in view, they endeavour to prevail upon him by large promises to communicate "to them such intelligence as he could afterwards pick up at Gyrettee, in which it does not "appear that they could have had any interest; or if they had, it is very improbable that they "should make such an application to a man who had so nearly compassed the ruin of one of "them, and by an act which shewed him too intimately connected with Nundcoomar to join in "a scheme to betray him.

"*Secondly.*—Sudder-o-din assures Assud Oolla of his readiness to comply with his desire "when he had made it a part of his duty by procuring him the Governor's service. That "Sudder-o-din should promise to reveal what he knew of transactions already passed is "consistent with the explanation given by Assud Oolla of the affair known between them; but "that he should promise to reveal what should afterwards pass at Gyrettee, if received in the "Governor's service in Calcutta, is hardly reconcileable by the most forced construction to "probability or even common sense.

"Thus far the truth of the affair can be drawn from probable but yet doubtful arguments "only; what follows depends more on facts.

"Gopaul Sing, (*h*) who had despatched Ramruttun, the Cossid, to Jellasore, swears that he "gave him but two letters, written both in the Nagree language, and addressed to his brother. (*h*) B. No. 13.

"Ramruttun (*i*) confesses the same, and adds that he received the Persian packet from "Mooteeram, a *harkarra* in the service of Nundcoomar, who set out at the same time with him "from Calcutta; that when he was seized by Shasteeram, Mooteeram, who was then with him, "fled, and left him with the charge of that packet upon him. Being examined two or three "times, and every question put to him that might lead him to contradict himself if his "evidence had been false, he persisted invariably in the same story, nor could I meet with "any circumstance with the depositions of the other persons concerned that disagreed with "his. Upon enquiry I learn that there was such a person as Mooteeram in the service of Nund-"coomar at that time, but he has not been heard of for some time, being supposed to have "been cut off by robbers in the way to Moorshedabad. That he was with Ramruttun appears "also from the evidence of Dootee Gooreah, (*j*) the man whose house was plundered by "Ramruttun. He says that when Shasteeram asked who he (Ramruttun) was, one of the "peons replied—'He is one of the two persons who joined the retinue in the plain "of Soobung.' That this part of the evidence is true cannot be doubted, as it would imply "a degree of art and a suddenness of invention scarce possible for a man of such ignorance "and simplicity as his appearance denotes to bring in so material a circumstance in answer to "a question so remote from the conclusion now drawn from his words. (*i*) B. No. 14. (*j*) B. No. 5.

"Since writing the above I have met with the original deposition of Dootee Gooreah taken "before Mr. Johnstone at Rajghaut, which agrees almost literally with that which he has now "made. I have therefore brought it for the satisfaction of the Board.

"In the deposition of Sasteeram (*k*) there are some particulars which will admit of a very "doubtful construction, such as his entertaining so sudden a suspicion of the Cossid being "employed in carrying treasonable letters from no other reason yet appearing than his being "detected in robbing a house (an uncommon employment at least for a man engaged in "such a service); his repeated mention of the severe floggings given Ramruttun for the "robbery as well as to make him confess whence he had the letters, which, by the concurrent "testimony of Ramruttun himself and every person questioned upon the fact, appears to be "utterly false, and that the man was not in the least ill-treated. He indeed gives a plausible "reason for his suspicion, *viz.*, that one of his attendants (Khaney Sein) being shown the letters, "declared one of them to be from Comgar Cawn to Rajaram. But this is likewise contradicted "by the other depositions, and particularly that of Khaney Sein (*l*) himself, who declared that "he was not present at the time, and only came up some hours after Ramruttun was seized "and confined, and that then he was shewn the letter. (*k*) B. No. 2. (*l*) B. No. 2.

"From the several depositions and the circumstances herein presented the Board will "judge on whom to fix the forgery of the letters in question. One observation it remains "upon me to make, that a fact of this kind, in which the intervention of more than one "person is not immediately required, can scarce ever admit of a positive and incontestable proof, "though the several consequent and relative facts may be sufficiently proved, and point out "in the most evident manner the main spring which set them in motion. In this light, "regarding the enquiry before us, I must give it as my opinion that as it appears pretty "clearly that there was a design on foot to compass the ruin of Ramchurn, that subsequent "thereto the letters forged in his name were intercepted; that the man to whose charge "they were entrusted was a servant of Nundcoomar's; and that Sudder-o-din (a servant of "Nuncoomar's) did foretell the disgrace of Ramchurn, and was (by his own declaration after-"wards) privy to the forgery of the letters. I say from these circumstances already proved, "I am of opinion that the letters were written and intercepted by the contrivance and direc-"tion of Nundcoomar, in order to fix the charge of a traitorous correspondence upon Ram-"churn."

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